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JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the
POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 234.

The next that spoke in the Debate began in our last, was L. Aemilius Paullus, the Purport of whose Speech was as follows, viz.

My Lords,

 SHALL join in the Observation made by the noble Duke, That such an Address as is now proposed to your Lordships, was never agreed to, but in troublesome and factious Times; but he and I may, perhaps, differ in the Application of these Terms. The Nation must always be in Trouble, when it has the Misfortune to be under the Government of a weak or wicked Minister; and when such a one ingrosses the Ear of his Sovereign, and thereby prevents all good Advice from approaching the Throne, there is certainly a most wicked and dangerous Faction in the Kingdom. But who, my Lords, are the Authors of that Trouble? Who are they that are the Fomenters and Supporters of that Faction? Not those that are endeavouring, by

the legal Methods prescribed by our Constitution, to remove that Minister, but they that are for obstructing all such Methods, and for supporting him in that Power, which he has by his Cunning and Sycophancy usurped. The Minister, and his Creatures and Tools, are the Faction, and the sole Cause of the Nation's Trouble; and when they, by obstructing all legal Methods of Redress, drive the People to the Extremity of being oblig'd to make use of violent Means, it is they, and they only, that are to be deemed the Authors of all the Misfortunes that ensue.

In this Light, my Lords, we ought to view all the Contests between Parliaments and Ministers, that are mentioned in our History; for I defy the World to shew, that ever a Favourite of the Crown was attack'd by Parliament, either by Address, Impeachment, or otherwise, but such as highly deserved it. Will any one say, that the Earl of Strafford, in King Charles the 1st's Reign, did not deserve to be attack'd

tack'd by Parliament? I am convinced the noble Duke will be as far from justifying all the preceding Measures of that Reign, as I shall be from justifying all the future Measures that were taken against that unfortunate and deluded Prince. But it was the violent Methods first made use of by the Court, that gave Rise to the violent Methods afterwards taken by the Parliament; and therefore, it was not the Prosecutors of that King's Ministers and Favourites, but the Ministers and Favourites themselves, that were the original Authors of all the Misfortunes, and of the fatal Catastrophe, that happened to him. In order to screen his Ministers from a Parliamentary Prosecution, he had abruptly dissolved several Parliaments, and had suspended the holding of any for a great Number of Years; during which Time a Multitude of illegal and violent Means were practised by the Court, for raising much less Money than the Parliament would have willingly granted him, if he had given up some of his guilty Favourites to Justice. This inflamed the Spirits of the People to such a Degree, that it afterwards became easy for wicked and deceitful Men to direct that national Resentment against the Crown, which ought to have been directed only against the Ministers of the Crown; and therefore, the Case of my Lord *Strafford*, instead of being a Warning to future Kings, not to allow their Ministers to be attack'd by Parliament upon general Rumors, ought to be a Warning to all future Kings, not to set themselves up as a Screen for their Ministers; and, I hope, it will be a Warning to all future Parliaments, not to allow their Resentment to carry them beyond the Bounds prescribed by our Constitution.

The Error committed by the Parliament, in the Case of the Earl of *Strafford*, was not in their having

attack'd him as a weak or wicked Minister, but in the Method by which they carried on that Attack. Upon general Rumors and Accusations they found him guilty of High Treason, and condemned him to die, by Act of Parliament, which was a Method of Proceeding that could not be warranted by our Constitution; but will any one say, that it would have been wrong in the Parliament to have addressed the King to remove him from his Councils and Presence? Will any one say, that the Accusations brought against him, or the general Hatred he had drawn upon himself, were not sufficient for this Purpose? My Lords, the very Nature of our Constitution must convince us, that the publick Odium alone is sufficient Cause for the King to dismiss any Minister that has drawn it upon himself, because in a free Country the King is to govern by the Affections of the People, and not, like arbitrary Princes, by the Terrors of his Reign. But as the King has no Way so proper for knowing the Sentiments of his People, either about the Measures he is advised to pursue, or the Ministers he is pleased to employ, as by the Addresses or Remonstrances of his Parliament; as the Sentiments of the People may be, and generally are, very much misrepresented to him, by his Ministers and Favourites, therefore it is our Duty to give him a true Information; and when we perceive that any one of the King's Ministers has incurred the general Hatred of the People, we betray our Sovereign, at least we are guilty of a Failure in our Duty towards him, if we do not address him to remove such a Minister; for no King can expect to preserve the Affections and Esteem of the People, if he employs such as are hated and despised by them.

An Address therefore, my Lords,

to remove a Minister from the King's Councils and Presence, may be sufficiently founded upon general Rumors or general Disgusts, and may be agreed to, nay, in many Cases ought to be agreed to, without any particular Accusation, and consequently without any Proof. A Minister's Character neither is nor can be affected by such an Address; for a Man's Character depends entirely upon his own Conduct, and can never be lost by any Sort of judicial Proceeding. On the contrary, if a Man be really innocent, and by some Error in his Conduct, or some extraordinary Misfortune, has had his Character exposed, or brought under Suspicion, by a full and fair Trial the Suspicion will be removed, and his Character restored; so that if a Minister has lost his Character, and has fallen into a general Hatred among the People, an Address for removing him may be a Means for restoring his Character; because after he is, in Pursuance of that Address, removed, he may then be brought to full and open Parliamentary Trial, and fairly acquitted of all those Crimes or Failings he was before supposed to be guilty of, which never can be the Case, as long as he continues in Power; for during the Continuance of his Power, every Enquiry into his Conduct will be some Way influenced by the Favours he has to bestow; and even suppose he should be fairly acquitted, it will not restore his Character, because the World will believe, his Acquittal was not owing to his Innocence but to his Influence.

For this Reason, my Lords, I hope we shall have, in this Motion, the Concurrence of all those who have a true Regard for the Character of the Minister, and at the same Time a thorough Conviction of his Innocence. I believe every Lord in this House is sensible, that he has

already lost his Character with a great Majority of the People of this Nation, and that he is generally and violently suspected not only of great Failings, but of heinous Crimes. Is not he suspected of having solely ingrossed the Ear of his Sovereign, and excluded from his Master's Presence, as well as Confidence, every Man that disdains being a Slave to him? Is he not suspected of having ingrossed the sole Disposal of all the Favours of the Crown, and the sole Direction of all the Offices of the Kingdom? Is he not suspected of having endeavoured to destroy the Independency of Parliament, and the Freedom of Elections, by making an abject Submission to his Will and Direction the sole Title to the obtaining of any Favour from the Crown, or the holding of any Post which the Crown can take away? Is he not suspected of having applied the publick Money towards gaining an undue and corrupt Influence, both in Parliament and at Elections? Is he not in general suspected of having a Design, by the Continuance and Increase of useless Offices, and the Multiplicity of Penal Laws, to establish in the Crown an absolute and uncontrollable Power? And with regard to foreign Affairs, is he not suspected of having, by his Weakness or Wickedness, sacrificed the Interests of his Country, and the Interests of Europe, to the cultivating of a dangerous Friendship and Correspondence with France? Is he not suspected of having exposed both the Honour and the Trade of his Country to the Insults of Spain, for no other Reason but for the Sake of preserving that Friendship and Correspondence?

These, my Lords, and a great many more I could mention, are Suspicions his Character now lies exposed to. That these Suspicions are generally entertained, no Man

can be ignorant, that ever makes an Excursion beyond the Purlieus of the Court, or converses with any independent Man in the Kingdom. That the People are generally dissatisfied with our publick Measures, and consequently with those that advise them, is evident from the great Sale of all Pamphlets and Papers on one Side, and the bad Reception given to the gratuitous Pamphlets and Papers on the other; for this cannot be owing to any Superiority of Genius in the Authors, because when the Measures of a Government are right, those of the brightest Parts will certainly engage in their Defence; and yet we have seen in our Days, what Posterity will scarcely believe: We have seen Parliaments approving what no Man of Genius would daign to defend. Thus, my Lords, I have laid before you a true State of the Case, with regard to the Character of the Hon. Gentleman whose Conduct is now under our Consideration; and as this is really the Case, if I were convinced of his Innocence, as a Friend to him, I should advise him to resign, in order that he might have his Character vindicated by an impartial, a strict, and a fair Enquiry; and if he refused my Advice, I should from that very Refusal begin to suspect his Innocence, and consequently should agree to the Address now proposed.

This, I say, my Lords, should be my Behaviour as a Friend to him, if I were convinced of his Innocence; but as I have my own Suspicions as well as other People, and have, perhaps, more Reason than most other People; therefore, as a faithful Counsellor to my Sovereign, which I have the Honour to be by my having a Seat in this House, and as a sincere Friend to my Country, I must be for agreeing to the Address proposed; and that my Suspicions may appear not to be

groundless, I shall take the Liberty to examine some of our late publick Measures, and endeavour to shew the Weakness of those Arguments that have been made use of for their Justification; in the doing of which I shall take the noble Duke's Advice, and consider the Circumstances of Affairs, and the Appearance of Things, as they stood at the Time those Measures were concerted; which I may with the greater Freedom do, because I had no Share in advising them; for tho' I was one of his Majesty's most Hon. Privy Council, it is well known, I seldom attended, thinking my Attendance both unnecessary and improper, when I found my Advice was of no Weight, nor the least Regard had to what I said in Support of it; from whence I had great Reason to suspect, that the Resolutions of that Board were forestalled, and that we came there only to give an Authority to, and perhaps, an Excuse for, what had somewhere else been resolved on.

This, my Lords, has been long one of my Suspicions, and from hence I cannot but with the rest of the Nation suspect, that the Minister, whose Conduct is the Subject of the present Debate, has solely ingrossed the Ear of his Sovereign; and that a cold Reception at Court is generally the Consequence of differing in any material Point from this Minister, I believe, several of your Lordships as well myself are Examples. These Examples, my Lords, if they are not Proofs, they afford at least strong Presumptions, and are one of the Causes of the Nation's believing, that this Minister has solely ingrossed the Ear of his Sovereign, and thereby usurped the sole Disposal of all the Favours of the Crown, and the sole Direction of all the Royal Offices in the Kingdom; and this Suspicion is confirmed by what every Man must observe,

observe, that ever heard of the Crowds at his Levee. By that Department which properly belongs to him, he has to do with nothing but what belongs to the Management of the publick Revenue; and therefore, if he confined himself to his own Department, he could have his Levee frequented by none but such as are soliciting Warrants from the Treasury, or Posts in the Collection and Management of the publick Revenue; and considering the Amount of the present Revenue, and the Number of Officers employed, I should think that this alone would afford a Crowd sufficient for satisfying the Vanity of any Minister in the Kingdom.

But instead of this, my Lords, does not every one know, that the Levee of this Minister is haunted by Lords who, I hope, neither have nor expect any Pensions? By Land and Sea Officers, who ought not to be allowed to expect any Preferment by his Favour or Recommendation? By Lawyers, who ought not to be allowed to expect being appointed Judges by his Means; and by many of the Reverend Bench, and Multitudes of other Clergymen who, I hope, expect Translations or Preferments from their Piety and Learning, and not by neglecting their Devotion, and trifling away their precious Time in attending his Levees? My Lords, it is needless to deny or disguise this Charge: The Candidates for Preferment have in all Countries most excellent Noses: They will smell out the proper Road to Preferment; and when the World sees Candidates of all Sorts in one Road, the World will judge, and most reasonably judge, that to be the sole Road to Preferment. From hence the general Suspicion against this Minister has arisen. If the Suspicion be well grounded, he is in some Degree guilty of High Treason, by the known Laws and Con-

stitution of this Kingdom, and ought to be impeached as well as removed; but the very Suspicion is a sufficient Cause for addressing the King to remove him, because the People can never be easy whilst a Man is in Power who, in their Opinion, is a Traitor against the Laws and Constitution of his Country; for a Man who is in Danger of suffering by the Law, will certainly endeavour to overturn the Law. Therefore, to dissipate the Fears and Jealousies of the People, and to make them easy under the Government of their Sovereign, such a Minister ought to be removed; and after he is removed, the Parliament may, without running the Risk of being thought corrupted, acquit him, if upon a fair Trial he appear to be innocent; and every Member may then, without Fear, give his Vote against him, if he should appear to be guilty.

The next general Suspicion I took Notice of is, his having endeavoured to destroy the Independency of Parliament and Freedom of Elections, by disposing of the Favours of the Crown to such only as vote in Parliament, or at Elections, according to his Direction, and turning every Man out of the Employment he holds at the Pleasure of the Crown, if in either Case he disobeys his Orders. My Lords, the Maxim which is the chief Corner Stone of our happy Constitution is, that the King has nothing to do with a Man's Behaviour in Parliament or at Elections. King *William* was so sensible of this, that when his Ministers advised him to dismiss an Officer of the Army, for having voted upon some Occasion against them in Parliament, he answered as every just King ought, and as every wise one will, The Gentleman has always behaved well as an Officer of the Army, and I have nothing to do with his Behaviour as a Member of Parliament. This, my Lords, ought

to be the Maxim of every King of this Country; for if the contrary Maxim should ever prevail: If the King should lay it down as a Maxim, not to bestow a Favour upon any one, or continue in Commission any Officer, but such as vote according to the Directions of his Ministers, the Disposal of the Posts and Offices necessary for the Support of our Government, must either be taken from the Crown, or the Crown will take from the Parliament its Independence, and consequently from our Constitution its Happiness and Freedom; therefore I must be of Opinion, that it is a high Degree of Treason in any Minister to advise the King to lay down such a Maxim, or to have any Regard to a Man's voting in Parliament or at Elections, in the Distribution of those Favours which the Crown has to bestow.

That the Minister now proposed to be removed is guilty of this Crime, is not only generally suspected, but must, I think, evidently appear to every one who considers either his Practice or his Declarations. His Practice is well known to every Man in the Nation, and has been confirmed by many flagrant Instances in both Houses of Parliament; and his Declarations have been so extravagant-ly open, that he seems to brave the Constitution, and defy the Laws of his Country. No longer ago than last Session but one, he declared openly, in the very Face of a House of Parliament, *That he should think him a very pitiful Fellow of a Minister, who did not turn any Officer out of the Army, that endeavoured to make him less a Minister, by opposing his Measures in Parliament.* This, my Lords, was so open a Declaration of his criminal Intentions, such an avowed Attack upon the very Essence of our Constitution, and delivered in such a Place, that I am surprized it did not occasion an immediate

Impeachment. From a Man who was no Minister, such a Declaration might be considered only as a bare Opinion; but from a Man who was well known to be a Minister, and generally believed to be the sole

A Minister, it was a great deal more than an Opinion. My Lords, it was an ouvert Act, a direct Attack upon our Constitution, because it was openly directing the Officers of the Army how to behave at Elections and in Parliament: It was threatening them, that if they did not sacrifice their Honour in Parliament to his Favour, they should their Commissions in the Army to his Resentment.

C Thank God! I was not a Member of the Assembly where these Words were spoken: I could not have heard them with Patience: I can scarcely repeat them with Patience; but I have, my Lords, I believe every one of your Lordships has as good Proof of such Words being uttered, and of their being uttered by this Minister too, as can be had of any such Fact whatsoever; and if your Lordships believe this Fact, can you hesitate a Moment about addressing his Majesty to remove him from his Councils and Presence for ever? My Lords, E this very Declaration, if there were nothing else, has made it absolutely inconsistent with our Constitution for his Majesty to keep him any longer in his Service; for while he continues to be a Minister, no Man that has, or expects any Post or Office F under the Crown, can vote with Freedom either at Elections or in Parliament. A Man may vote according to his Conscience, let the Consequence be what it will; but no Man can be said to vote freely, when he knows that his Subsistence, or a principal Part of his Subsistence, depends upon his voting against his Conscience; therefore it is evident, that the Existence of our Constitu-
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tion is by this Declaration rendered incompatible with the Existence of this Man's ministerial Power, and, I hope, no Lord of this House will make the least Doubt, which of these two Existences ought to be put an End to.

Before this Declaration was made, my Lords, I suspected that large Sums of the publick Money had been applied, by this Minister, towards gaining an undue and corrupt Influence both in Parliament and at Elections; and, indeed, every Man must have the same Suspicion who considers what large Sums have been granted by Parliament for secret Service Money, and yet what astonishing Ignorance our Ministers have upon several Occasions appeared to be in, with regard to the Designs of foreign States. The same Suspicion must likewise be entertained by every Man who considers, what a vast Civil List Revenue his present Majesty enjoys, and yet with what Parimony it is applied to every known and every laudable Purpose. But the Minister's making this Declaration so openly, and in such an Assembly, has brought my Suspicion in this respect almost to a Certainty. I can make no Doubt, that a Minister capable of making such a Declaration, is capable of applying the publick Money to such secret and unlawful Purposes; and I am convinced, he would not have ventured to have made such a Declaration, if he had not been well acquainted with the powerful Effects of Corruption.

Now, my Lords, with regard to the Suspicion of his having a Design, by the Continuance and Increase of useless Offices, and the Multiplicity of Penal Laws, to establish in the Crown, or rather the Ministers of the Crown, an absolute and uncontrollable Power, I think, his Design appears pretty plain from his own Declaration; for a Minister

that declares, he will turn any Officer out of the Army that shall dare to vote against his Measures in Parliament, will not scruple to turn any Civil Officer out of his Employment, or to execute rigorously a

A Penal Law against any Man that shall vote either in Parliament, or at the Elections, contrary to his Orders; and when such a Minister loads the Nation with useless Offices, or unnecessary Penal Laws, we may easily see, that his Design is to

B render his Power uncontrollable, by rendering himself Master of a Majority of our Elections; for tho' no Minister can by any corrupt Means secure a Majority in this House, while it consists of such honourable Members as it does at present, yet

C if a Minister should once be secure of having always a Majority in the other House, your Lordships know, that by an Incroachment which is now become a Part of our Constitution, a Minister that has got the sole Guidance of his Sovereign, may secure to himself a Majority in this House; and therefore, for the Sake of preserving the Dignity and the Independency of this House, we must take Care to preserve the Dignity and the Independency of the other.

D As for the Posts and Offices in the absolute Disposal of the Crown, our present Minister, my Lords, had no great Occasion to increase the Number of them; for the Debts contracted in the two late heavy Wars, and the Taxes imposed for

E F the Payment of those Debts, with a little ministerial Art, had created such a Multitude of new Commissioners, Collectors, Supervisors, Accountants, Comptrollers, Excisemen, Custom-house Officers, and the like, that our present Minister had no Occasion to increase their Number. He had nothing to do but to turn them to that Use which no former Minister durst venture to attempt, I mean

mean that of influencing Elections ; and yet a great Number of Clerks, and other inferior Officers have been added, during his Administration, to almost every Board in the Kingdom ; and during a long peaceable Administration, he has taken Care not to reduce or pay off any considerable Part of our Debts ; because if that had been done, some of our heavy Taxes must have been abolished, and this of course must have been attended with the Disbanding of those Officers that were employed in the Collection and Management of them. This, I am now convinced, has been one of his chief Views through the whole Course of his Administration ; and this must now afford many of your Lordships good Reason to condemn some of those Measures you were formerly induced to approve ; for no Man ought to think it beneath his Dignity to change his Opinion, either about Men or Measures, when the Consequences of the latter, or the future Behaviour of the former, furnish him with substantial Reasons for such a Change.

Then, my Lords, as to the Penal Laws that have been enacted, besides those that have been unsuccessfully attempted, I believe no Minister, antient or modern, can rival our present Minister in this Particular. The Excise Laws, which are the most proper for enlarging the Power of a Minister, because the Penalties may be exacted, modified, or forgiven, according to his Pleasure, have been multiplied and enlarged to a great Degree ; and if the *Excise Scheme* had met with Success, I will venture to say, that no Man that dealt in Tobacco, and consequently no Shop-keeper in any Country Town or Village in the Kingdom, would have dared to give his Vote at any Election contrary to the Orders of the Minister, signified to the poor Shop-keeper by his Ex-

cise-man. To pretend that the Calamours against this Scheme were raised by Smugglers and clandestine Dealers, is something very extraordinary. Does not the noble Duke remember, that Petitions came up

A against it from all the great trading Towns in the Kingdom ; and that those Petitions were signed by the most eminent Merchants in all Sorts of Business ? Does his Grace think, that there is not a fair Trader in the Kingdom, or that it is not the

B Interest of the fair Trader to prevent Smuggling ? My Lords, if that Scheme had been contrived for nothing but to prevent Smuggling, and had been thought effectual for that End, the very Persons that petitioned against it, would have petitioned in its Favour : Instead of lighting up Bonfires at its being rejected, they would have been lighted up upon its being passed into a Law ; and instead of Ministers and Members of Parliament, we should have had Thieves and Smugglers burnt in Effigy in all Parts of the Kingdom.

But, my Lords, the trading Part of the Nation were not so blind, as to allow themselves to be imposed on by such a thin Cobweb. They perceived the real Design of that Scheme, which was not to prevent Smuggling, but to put it in the Power of the Minister to make a Smuggler of the most innocent Man in the Kingdom, if he dared to disobey his Orders in Parliament or at Elections ; and whether this would F not have affected our Liberties, I shall leave to your Lordships to judge. But I must observe, that one of the Consequences of that Scheme afforded us a most convincing Proof, how ridiculous it is to attack the Conduct of a Minister, or even the Conduct of his Tools, whilst he himself remains in the full Possession of his Power. The Frequency of Smuggling, the fraudulent

dulent Practices of Smugglers, and the Defects in the Laws against Smuggling, was the chief Argument made use of by the Patron of that Scheme and his Friends, for inducing Gentlemen to agree to it. On the other hand, the Merchants and their Friends alledged, that the Frequency of Smuggling was not owing to any Defect in the Laws, or in the present Methods of collecting the publick Revenue, but to the Frauds and Neglects of the Custom-house Officers, and the little Care taken by those that had the Appointment and Superintendency of them. This the Merchants insisted on, and said they could prove before a fair and impartial Tribunal. This brought on a Motion in the other House, for appointing a secret and select Committee, to be chosen by Ballot, for enquiring into the Abuses and Frauds of the Customs. As our Minister, in his proper Department, has the chief Superintendency of the Treasury, and consequently of the Customs, he could not well oppose this Motion; but he had such an amazing Influence over that House of Commons, that, notwithstanding the Ballot, he got them to chuse a Committee consisting, I shall not say of the Minister's most obsequious Slaves, but I may say of his surest Friends: Nay, the very Commissioners of the Treasury themselves, all, I believe, but the Minister, were chosen of that Committee. That is to say, the Commissioners of the Treasury, and a few of their most intimate Friends, were chosen by a House of Commons, to enquire into the Conduct of the Commissioners of the Treasury, with regard to the Abuses and Frauds of the Customs. Was not this, my Lords, a most glaring Instance of the Dependency of a House of Commons upon a Minister? Could the Merchants expect an impartial Hearing from such a Committee?

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They never gave themselves once the Trouble of attending; and according to Expectation, the Enquiry ended in a Justification of the Commissioners of the Treasury, and of their Deputies the Commissioners of the Customs; but to the World could this be a Justification or a Vindication of the Characters either of the Principals or Deputies? On the contrary, it confirmed the Suspicion of the Minister's having an undue Influence over that House of Commons, and with me is a most unanswerable Argument for agreeing to this Address.

My Lords, if upon such a well-founded Suspicion of a Minister's having acquired to himself an undue Influence in Parliament, and his declaring openly and expressly that he would make use of such an Influence, a Parliament should refuse addressing the King to remove him, what would the People say of such a Refusal? What could they expect from such a Parliament? Would any Man be so mad as to bring a direct Accusation against such a Minister before such a Parliament? Could any Man there expect to convict such a Minister upon the most particular and the clearest Proofs that were ever laid before any Tribunal? The certain Consequence would be, a judicial and formal Acquittal of the Minister, let his Crimes be never so heinous and manifest; and a severe parliamentary Sentence against the Accuser, let his Proofs be never so clear and connected. This will of course embolden not only our present Minister but all future Ministers: The Suspicions of the People will daily increase: Their Discontents may turn to Disaffection: Their Despair of obtaining Redress may drive them to seek for it by violent Means; and the Consequence of this God alone can tell. Whereas your agreeing to this Address can be attended

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with no bad Consequence, either to the Kingdom, or to the Minister if he be innocent; and if he be guilty, surely no one of your Lordships would desire to have him continued in Power.

The Arguments I have hitherto made use of, are all drawn from the Suspicions that lie against our present Minister, with regard to domestick Affairs; but, my Lords, with regard to foreign Affairs, the Suspicions against him are of a more heinous Nature, and, if possible, they now seem to be better founded than the other. Our Minister by his Conduct in domestick Affairs has rendered himself suspected, and I think I have shewn, justly suspected, of sacrificing the Liberties and Constitution of his Country to his own Power and Grandeur, perhaps to his own Safety; but by his Conduct in foreign Affairs, he has rendered himself suspected of sacrificing the Honour, the Trade, the Navigation, nay the very Being of his native Country, to the Interests and Views of its most antient, its most constant, its most dangerous Enemy. This, my Lords, was so fully explained by the noble Lord who introduced this Debate, that I shall only touch upon some particular Circumstances by Way of Answer to what has been said by the noble Duke. It is long, it is many Years since some amongst us suspected, that our Councils were too much under the Influence of *France*. These Suspicions have every Day gathered Strength and grown more and more general, till now at last they are, by the Consequences of our Conduct, I think, absolutely confirmed. Will any one say, that the Affairs of *Europe* are now in a happy Situation? Will any one say, that the Balance of Power in *Europe* is at present in no Danger; or that the Danger it is in can be easily removed? Will any one say,

that this Nation is in a happy State, when we are in imminent Danger of being obliged to sacrifice our *American* Trade to the wild Pretensions of *Spain*, or, without one Ally, to support a War against the united

A Power of *France* and *Spain*? This is the present Situation of *Europe*: This is the present Situation of this Nation; and the noble Lord has shewn, that both are chiefly owing to our having kept up a Friendship and Correspondence with *France*, at

B the Expence of our Honour, at the Expence of our Trade, and at the Expence of our most natural Ally.

The noble Duke was pleased to tell us, the Minister had no Share in the Council that advised the Treaty of *Hanover*. If this be true, C and I am convinced the noble Duke thinks so, it is one of the strongest Arguments for agreeing to this Motion. That Minister is now loaded with the whole Blame of that Treaty, and of all the fatal Consequences that ensued: He can no

D Way remove this Load, but by laying himself open to a fair and impartial Enquiry into his Conduct, which never can be carried on, at least the Nation will not believe it can be carried on, as long as he has

E the Distribution of all the Favours and Rewards the Crown can bestow, and of all the Penalties and Punishments the Crown can inflict; therefore, if he had any true Regard for his Character, he would voluntarily lay himself open to such an Enquiry, if his Friends have a sincere Regard for him, they will take the most gentle Method for compelling him to do so, which is by agreeing to the Address proposed. If they refuse to do so, their affirming, that their Friend had no Share in advising that Treaty, or any other fatal Measure, will signify nothing; for whatever your Lordships may do, I am sure the Nation will not believe them.

But,

But, my Lords, with regard to this Treaty of *Hanover*, the Minister and his Friends have, it seems, two Strings to their Bow: They first deny he had any Hand in it; and next, they endeavour to justify that Treaty, and all the Measures that were taken in Pursuance of it. The Account we had of a private Treaty between the *Emperor* and *Spain* was certainly true: By that Treaty the *Emperor* put a high Affront upon this Nation, and *Spain* was to bring the Pretender upon us, to destroy our Trade, and to take *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon* from us: If we offered to resent this Affront against the *Emperor*, or to protect our Trade and Dominions against *Spain*, the *Emperor* was to attack *Hanover*: In this Situation we could have no Recourse, no Refuge, but in an Alliance with *France*. These, my Lords, are the Arguments made use of for justifying the Treaty of *Hanover*: But can any Man be serious that now makes use of such Arguments? Without derogating in the least from the Respect due to his late Majesty, for whose Memory I have the greatest Regard, I will venture to affirm, there was no such private Treaty between the *Emperor* and *Spain*. His late Majesty was imposed on by his Ministers, and they were imposed on, to say no worse, by the Ministers of *France*. This might be the Case, and by this his late Majesty was induced to mention this Treaty in his Speech to his Parliament: But the *Emperor* could not be imposed on: If he had signed such a Treaty, he must have known it; and neither could nor would have denied it so expressly and solemnly as he did. This Fact therefore being false, all the Reasoning founded upon it must fall to the Ground. But, my Lords, suppose it were true: The Affront was atoned for, by the *Emperor's* denying that Treaty in the solemn Man-

ner he did; and we might have guarded against the Danger without any Alliance with *France*. Neither the Trade nor the Dominions of *Great Britain* could be in the least Danger from any Attack *Spain* and *A* the *Emperor* could make upon them; and the *Emperor* could not attack *Hanover* without breaking through the fundamental Constitutions of the *Empire*, which would have brought all the Princes of the *Germanick Body* to our Assistance; and such a *B* Confederacy would have been sufficient for protecting *Hanover* without the Help of *France*; which, instead of courting, we ought to have refused, because their intermeddling in the Affairs of *Germany* will always be of dangerous Consequence *C* to the Balance of Power in *Europe*.

I am surprized, my Lords, to hear it now pretended, that the Affair of *Thorn* had the least Share in drawing us into the Treaty of *Hanover*. That cruel Affair was, indeed, made use of both by *France* and us, for drawing the King of *Prussia* into the Alliance; and accordingly there was a separate Article for obtaining Reparation for what had been done at *Thorn*, contrary to the Treaty of *Oliva*; but the King of *Prussia* soon perceived, or imagined he perceived, that neither *France* nor we were sincere in that Article, therefore he deserted the Alliance, and it is certain, that nothing was ever done in pursuance of that Article, because the Interest of *France* was no Way concerned in performing it. But where the Interest of *France* was concerned, we did a great deal more than we were obliged to do by that Treaty; and when *Spain* declared War against us on that Account, we did not do so much as we ought to have done, because it was not the Interest of *France* we should.

My Lords, it is so evident, that our Minister has sacrificed the Safety

ty of *Europe*, and the Credit of his native Country with every one of its ancient Allies, to the Friendship of *France*, that I should be ashamed to take up your Time with answering or exposing the poor Excuses that are made for his Conduct. If A by that Means he had preserved the Tranquillity of his Country uninterrupted, and made the proper Use of that uninterrupted Tranquillity: Or if he had obtained from *France* a Settlement of the Disputes still subsisting between the two Nations, or any Advantages for our Trade in that Kingdom, it would have been some Sort of real Excuse for his Conduct. But he has, at the Desire of *France*, involved his Country in continual Broils either with *Spain* or the *Emperor*, and from thence has taken Occasion to load it with such an extraordinary Expence, either for giving Weight to his fruitless Negotiations, or enforcing the Observance of his useless Treaties, that we are now as much, if not more involved than we were at the End of the last heavy War; and during this whole Time, what has been the Behaviour of *France* towards us. They have been not only cramping our Trade in their own Dominions, but incroaching upon it in every other Part of the World. This is E not all, my Lords: It is highly probable, that they have been underhand encouraging *Spain* to interrupt our Trade and Navigation in the *American Seas*, and at the same Time threatening us, that if we attempted to do ourselves Justice, they F would join with *Spain* against us. When we reflect upon this, my Lords, it is not possible to account for the Conduct of our Minister from any Motives founded upon the Interest or Prosperity of this Kingdom. From hence has arisen a general Suspicion, that from some private Motives of his own he has sacrificed the Interests of his Coun-

try, and the Interests of *Europe*, to the Cultivating of a dangerous Friendship and Correspondence with *France*; and this Suspicion has greatly increased since the Commencement of the War with *Spain*.

If we consider the Interest of *France*, and the Interest of *Britain*, with regard to the Disputes between *Spain* and us, we shall find them directly opposite to each other; and if we examine the Conduct of our Minister, either in his B Negotiations for Peace, or his Prosecution of the War, we shall find that he has, without Variation, pursued the Interest of *France*, in Opposition to that of *Great Britain*. When *Spain* first set up the Pretence of searching our Ships in the Seas C of *America*, and confiscating them, if they found any of those Goods on board, which they were pleased to call contraband, it was easy to see, that till this Pretence was expressly given up, we could enjoy no free Trade or Navigation in that D Part of the World, nor could there be any cordial Friendship between *Spain* and us, which of course would be a great Detriment to our Trade, and consequently a great Advantage to the Trade of *France*. It was, therefore, the Interest of *France* to have this Dispute remain unadjusted as long as possible, it was the Interest of *Britain* to have it adjusted, either by fair or foul Means, with the utmost Dispatch: Consequently it was the Interest of *France* to have the Negotiations between *Spain* and us, about this Point, protracted as long as possible; and it was our Interest to state plainly and clearly the Point in Question, and to insist upon a peremptory and speedy Answer. According to this State of the Case, I shall leave your Lordships to judge, whether our Minister, in his Negotiations for Peace, pursued the Interest of *France*, or that of *Great Britain*. But I must G observe,

observe, that upon this Question the Nation, the World, has already past Judgment; and if your Lordships Judgment should be different, I must beg of you to consider, what the Consequence may be with regard to the Character of this House.

It is well known, my Lords, that it was not our Minister that put an End to our Negotiations: It is well known, that he was forced into the War. The Spirit of the Nation made it absolutely inconsistent with his personal Safety to treat any longer; and his Majesty's natural Genius concurring with the Spirit of the Nation, the Minister was obliged to give Way to the Torrent, and to seem at least passive, by which Means a War was at last resolved on. Let us now see, what C was the Interest of *France*, and what was the Interest of *Britain*, with regard to the Prosecution of the War. It was the Interest of *France* to have us prosecute the War in that Manner which would make it most tedious, least advantageous to this Nation, and most burdensome and destructive to our Trade and Navigation: It was the Interest of *Britain* to prosecute it in that Manner which should bring it to the speediest Conclusion, which might bring the greatest Advantage to this Country, and which might be the least burdensome or destructive to our Trade. To bring the War to a speedy Conclusion, and to reap some lasting Advantage from it for the Nation, it was incumbent upon us to prepare, as soon as it was resolved on, for sending a powerful Fleet, with a sufficient Number of Land Forces on board, to *America*, in order to make as many Conquests there as possible; and to have sent another Fleet to the *Mediterranean* and Coasts of *Spain*, with a Number of Land Forces on board; not to make Conquests, but to make Incursions, in order to have kept them in conti-

nual Alarms, and to prevent their being able to send any Reinforcements to their Settlements in *America*: And to make the War as little burdensome or destructive to our Trade as possible, we ought to have

A fitted out no more large Ships than we had absolute Occasion for; but as many small Ships and Sloops of War as possible, for protecting our Trade by intercepting and destroying the Enemy's Privateers; and in order to draw away as few Seamen B as possible from the Merchant Service, we ought to have begun with giving great Encouragement for able-bodied Landmen to enter into his Majesty's Sea Service, and to have accepted of all such as offered to enter.

These, my Lords, were the Methods by which we ought to have begun and prosecuted the War, if the Interest of *Great Britain* had been considered or pursued; and if these Methods had been taken, the War might have been over before D this Time; for *Spain* would have found itself under a Necessity of submitting to our Terms. I need not explain to your Lordships what we have done, or have not done; for every Man in *Britain* knows, that we began and prosecuted the E War by Methods directly contrary to these. Every one knows, that we have hitherto prosecuted the War in that Manner which must make it tedious, in that Manner which can bring no Advantage to this Nation, and in that Manner which has been vastly burdensome and destructive both to our Trade and Navigation; and therefore, every one must conclude, that our Minister has, in the Prosecution of the War, as well as in the Negotiations for Peace, had a View to the Interest of *France*, in Opposition to that of his native Country. When this is the Conclusion made by most Men in the Kingdom, can we suppose

pose that our People will pay their Taxes with Pleasure, or that the War can redound to the Honour or Advantage of this Kingdom, whilst this Minister has the Direction of our Affairs? When the Affairs of Europe are at such a Crisis, when the Affairs of this Nation are in such a ticklish Situation, can any Lord in this House scruple addressing his Majesty to remove a Minister who has shewn by his Conduct, both in Peace and War, that he regards nothing but the Interest and Friendship of our greatest Rival and most inveterate Enemy? What may have been his Motives for holding such a Conduct, I shall not pretend to determine; but if they proceed from nothing but Weakness, it must be a Weakness of a most extraordinary Nature: Of such a Nature as must render him very unfit for having the chief Direction of the Affairs of such a powerful Nation at such a critical Conjunction; and therefore, even suppose his whole Misconduct to proceed from Weakness alone, it is a sufficient Reason for our addressing his Majesty to remove him.

But I'm afraid, my Lords, his Misconduct does not altogether proceed from Weakness. He knows he is generally hated by the People of his own Country: He knows he has been long hated by them: He knows, that nothing but the Favour of the Crown protects him against their Resentment; and as that may fail him, or may be withdrawn, he is, perhaps, courting an Asylum amongst the Enemies of his Country. If this be the Case, how unhappy will this Nation be, in case your Lordships should refuse agreeing to the Address proposed? The People will not think your Refusal proceeds from his Innocence, or your Approbation of his Conduct. However groundlessly, they will think, your Refusal proceeds from that very Crime of

which he is so generally suspected; and this will increase their Hatred towards him, which must necessarily increase his Attachment to the Views, and his Obedience to the Orders of those from whom he expects Protection in Case of Distress. How fatal may the Consequence of this be to Europe at this critical Conjunction? What an irrecoverable Ruin may it bring upon this Nation? I shall add no more, but beg, that upon this important Occasion, your Lordships would have a due Regard to the Interest of Europe in general, to the Interest of your native Country in particular, to the Safety of the King, the Satisfaction of the People, and to the Honour and Dignity of this august Assembly.

The next Speaker in this Debate was C. Plinius Cæcilius, who spoke to this Effect, viz.

My Lords,

IN all Contests of a political Nature, we ought to distinguish between those that proceed merely from a Difference in Opinion with regard to the publick Good, and those which proceed from private Views and personal Animosities. In every Country where Men have Leave to express their Sentiments freely, there will be Contests about every publick Measure that can be proposed or pursued, because when there is no Demonstration, neither of one Side nor the other, which is the Case in all political Disputes, there will be a Difference of Opinion. Even in the most arbitrary Countries there must be a Difference of Opinion; but that Difference cannot appear, or occasion any Contest, because those who happen to disapprove of the publick Measures, dare not express, much less publish the Reasons for their Disapprobation. Therefore in every Country where

where a free Government is established, every Time must be a Time of political Altercation ; but those Times only are to be called troublesome and factious, when the political Contests proceed from private Views and personal Animosities ; and if by this Rule we examine the Times when such Addresses as this now under our Consideration have been agreed to by either House of Parliament, I believe, we shall find Cause to conclude, that most of them were troublesome and factious Times, and that those Troubles and Factions did not so often arise from the extraordinary Weakness or Wickedness of the Ministers, as from the private Views and personal Animosities of those that opposed them.

Ministers, my Lords, are not infallible no more than other Men ; and they are liable to the same Passions and Affections with the rest of their Species. As every Man in the World would, I believe, desire to have the Affection and Esteem of his Countrymen, rather than their Hatred and Contempt, therefore, both in Charity and from the Nature of Mankind, we ought to suppose, that Ministers do the best they can for the publick Good ; but as they are human, they must be guilty of Oversight, Mistakes, and Failings, which will be overlook'd by every good Subject, and when not very extraordinary, will be forgiven by every Man that is not their personal Enemy, nor possessed with an immoderate Ambition of succeeding them in their Places. For this Reason no Man ought ever to think, and much less ought either House of Parliament to think of coming to such an Extremity as to address the King to remove any one of his Ministers, unless it appears, not only that he has a prevailing Influence in his Majesty's Councils, but also that he has been guilty of some enormous Crime, or

of such a Series of Misconduct as evidently shews him to be a very weak Man. This, I say, ought to be our Rule with regard to addressing our Sovereign to dismiss any of his Ministers, and in this we shall A be confirmed, if we consider the many Difficulties that Ministers have to encounter, and the many personal Ennemis they must necessarily incur.

In this, as well as in all other Countries, my Lords, the People B expect to be protected in their legal Rights and the free Enjoyment of their Properties : They expect to have Justice diligently, faithfully, and impartially administred at home, and to be preserved from Invasions, Inroads, and Piracies from abroad.

C This they expect from their Ministers and Governors, but they have very ill Will to contribute either the Trouble or the Expence, that is necessary for procuring them this Protection ; and for this Reason, they are in all Countries extremely apt to find

D fault with, and clamour against the Conduct of their Governors, which makes it but too easy to raise a general Complaint against the Conduct of the best Sort of Governors ; and no Governor or Minister can ever want personal Enemies, who will be ready upon all Occasions to criticise his Conduct, to magnify and set in the most glaring Light the little Failings he may be guilty of, and to propagate Murmurings and Discontents among the People. For this Purpose, we must allow, I say,

E F that no Minister can ever want personal Enemies, especially if we consider the several selfish Motives Men may have for becoming the professed or the secret Enemies of a Minister. All Men in superior Stations are, we know, exposed to the

G Envy of those below them, and every Man that is governed by this malevolent Passion, must of course become the professed or the secret E-
nemy

nemy of a Minister. Others again are entirely governed by their Ambition, and are very apt to become Enemies to a Minister, because they suppose him to have been the Cause of their not meeting with Success in some unreasonable Suit they made to their Sovereign. But of all the Sources of Discontent and personal Enmity against a Minister, the greatest is that which, in this Debate, has been supposed to be his chief Support; I mean, my Lords, the Disposal of Posts and Offices in our Government; for there are always five or six, sometimes a Dozen of Candidates, for almost every Post or Place any Minister can have in his Disposal: Of these, but one can have it; and if the disappointed Candidates are not Men of great Moderation, they of course become personal Enemies to the Minister, and are diligent in propagating every popular Cry against him.

Thus your Lordships may see, that no Minister can ever be without a Multitude of personal Enemies, who upon all Occasions will be ready to propagate what the People are too apt to believe, That their Business has been ill conducted, or that they have been put to a much greater Expence than was necessary; for in this Case, Ministers or Magistrates may be very properly compared to Attorneys or Sollicitors in Law Affairs. Whilst the Law-Suit goes on, and the Attorney brings in no Bill of Fees and Disbursements, the Client is perfectly satisfied with his Conduct; but if the Cause meets with any unexpected Delay, or bad Success, tho' it be entirely owing to the Nature of the Case, the Client then begins to exclaim against the Conduct of his Attorney; and even when the Cause meets with the best Success, and is brought to a happy Issue, yet the Client generally finds fault with

his Attorney's Bill, and seldom pays it without Murmuring. The Case is, in this Country, the same between the People and the King's Ministers. If any national Affair misgives, or meets with any cross Accident, it is always, tho' often without Reason, imputed to the ill Conduct of the Administration; and when the Sums necessary for the publick Service come to be provided for and paid, the People are always apt to complain. These Complaints Ministers have at all Times been exposed to, and our present Ministers are more exposed to such Complaints than any of their Predecessors; because the People of this Nation are now burdened with many Taxes, for the Payment of Debts our present Ministers never incurred, which of course makes the People the more unwilling to comply with those Payments that are absolutely necessary for the current Service.

My Lords, it is easy to say, that a great Part of our Debts might have been paid off, but I defy any Man to shew me how any greater Part of them might have been paid off, than has actually been, without laying new or heavier Taxes upon the People; because the free Revenue, or that Part of the publick Revenue which is not mortgaged to the Civil List or for the Payment of old Debts, is not sufficient for answering the annual Expence; and therefore it has been necessary, almost every Year, to apply some Part or the Whole of the Sinking Fund for the current Service; which the Parliament had a Right to do, and which the Parliament has always, when necessary, thought more proper to be done, than to load the People with any new or additional Tax; and no publick Expence has been incurred, but what was at the Time thought necessary for the publick Safety. If Armies have been kept up or augmented: If Squa-
drons

drons have been fitted out, or foreign Troops taken or kept in Pay, it was, in my Opinion, necessary, according to the Circumstances the Nation was then in, and I have always had the good Luck to see my Opinion confirmed by the Majority of both Houses of Parliament. If our Armies had not been kept up and augmented, or if Squadrons had not been fitted out, as often as Occasion required, I am convinced we should have been invaded, or some of our Allies swallowed up, and the Balance of Power quite overturned, long before this Time; but all such Attempts have been prevented by the Expence we have occasionally put ourselves to; and the good Effect of that Expence is now, by a very preposterous Way of arguing, made a Pretence for saying the Expence was unnecessary, because we were in no Danger, tho' the Danger was fully made appear to Parliament at the Time the Expence was incurred, and will still appear to every Man who considers the Circumstances of the Affairs of Europe at the respective Times we put ourselves to any extraordinary Charge.

As the Danger this Nation was in of an immediate Attack, in Pursuance of the Treaty of Vienna between the Emperor and Spain, has been fully spoke to by other Lords, in this Debate, and, I think, made evident, if any Reliance is to be had upon what his late Majesty so solemnly declared to his Parliament, I shall wave giving your Lordships any farther Trouble upon that Head. But will any Lord say, the Dutch were in no Danger? Will any Lord say, the French were in no Danger of an immediate Attack from the Consequences of that Treaty? My Lords, we know there was a Contest then subsisting, and ready to break out into a Flame, between the Emperor and the Dutch, in relation to the Ostend East-India Com-

pany: We likewise know, that by an express Article in that Treaty, the King of Spain promised, that if the Ships of the Subjects of his Imperial Majesty should be attack'd, on either Side of the Line, he would make it a common Cause with his Imperial Majesty to revenge and redress the Injuries and Damages sustained. And also we know, that the Dutch were resolved to attack and seize, as they had a Right to do, any of the Ostend Ships they found trading in the East-Indies, which if they had done, it is not to be questioned, but that War would have been immediately declared against them by the Emperor, and in Pursuance of this Article, the Emperor would have been assisted by Spain. Could we, my Lords, sit still and see the Dutch over-run by the Emperor and Spain? If we had done so, it would have drove the Dutch into the Arms of France; and if we had no Way intermeddled, the Consequence of this War might have been fatal to the Balance of Power in Europe.

From hence, my Lords, I think it is evident, that the Dutch were in Danger of an immediate Attack from the Consequences of this Treaty. But suppose they had been in no Danger: Suppose France only had been in Danger of an immediate Attack, even that Attack might have necessarily involved this Nation in a War, and, probably, would have done so, in order to preserve the Balance of Power, which might have been overturned by the too great Success of either Party engaged in that War, and especially if the Success had happened to be upon the Side of France. If this had been the Case, France would, probably, have attacked Spain in the West-Indies; and those amongst us, who are now so positive that France ought not to interpose, in order to prevent our making Conquests

Conquests upon *Spain* in the *West-Indies*, would then, I believe, have been very apt to find fault with our Ministers, if they had quietly allowed the *French* to take Possession of any Part of the *Spanish* Settlements in *America*.

It is therefore certain, that we must have been involved in any War that could break out in Consequence of this Treaty at *Vienna*; and, I think, it is as certain, that either this Nation, *France*, or *Holland*, would have been attacked in Pursuance of this Treaty, if it had not been for the Treaty of *Hanover*, and the Measures we afterwards took, for preventing the Return of the *Spanish* Galleons. Consequently no Fault can be found with any Expence we put ourselves to in Pursuance of that Treaty, because it preserved the Tranquillity of *Europe*, and thereby prevented our being obliged to put ourselves to a much greater Expence. By the Treaty of *Hanover*, the *Emperor* found himself under a Necessity of giving up the *Orford* Company, and the Court of *Spain* were obliged to give up all their Views of Resentment against this Nation, as well as against the Court of *France*; and when this was done, it was the Interest of this Nation to re-establish a good Understanding with *Spain*, as soon as possible; and for that Purpose, to refrain from those Acts of Hostility which we might have committed, and had a Right to commit, upon their beginning Hostilities against us. For this Reason, and because, we knew, it was not in their Power to do us any considerable Injury, I must still think, it was prudent in us to despise their Resentment by not returning the Hostilities they committed; for by this Means we restored Peace between the two Nations much sooner than we could otherwise have done, and obtained all we could desire by the Treaty of *Seville*.

I am really surprized, my Lords, to hear so much Fault found with the Treaty of *Seville*. It has once already had the Approbation of the Parliament, and it deserved that Approbation; for we had at that Time A nothing to ask from *Spain* but a Renewal and Confirmation of former Treaties, and Reparation for the Merchant Ships of this Nation they had unjustly seized and confiscated; and both these we obtained Stipulations for in as explicit Terms as B could be made use of; so that if the *Spaniards* have continued their Depredations, and if our Merchants have met with no Reparation, it is not owing to that Treaty, but to a Breach of Faith in the *Spanish* Court, which could not be foreseen nor guarded against by any Treaty, or by any Method I can think of, but that of never being at Peace or in Friendship with such a faithless Nation; and this, I am sure, no Man would advise, that understands and has a Regard for the Trade of this D Kingdom.

As to the Introduction of 6000 *Spanish* Troops, instead of Neutral, into the strong Places of *Tuscan*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, a noble Duke has already rightly observed, that the Difference was of no real Signification to the *Emperor*, nor could it give the least Encouragement for *Spain* to attack him in *Italy*. It was not the Introduction of those Troops that occasioned the War in 1733: It was the Court of *Vienna*'s having given Offence to the Court E of *France*, by interfering so much as they did in the Election of a King of *Poland*, that gave Occasion to that War, and encouraged the *Spaniards* to attack the *Emperor* in *Italy*; for as the *Emperor* had himself given Rise to that War, the *Spaniards* knew, that the maritime Powers did not think themselves obliged to assist him, and from thence they found they might send what

what Troops they pleased to *Italy*. In this War, my Lords, it is very certain, the *Dutch* did not think themselves oblig'd to have any Concern, tho' they had guaranteed the *Pragmatic Sanction* as well as we, and if we had thought otherwise, it would have been very imprudent in us to engage in that War without the *Dutch*. But tho' it was neither prudent nor necessary for us to engage immediately in that War, yet both the *Dutch* and we foresaw that it might become necessary, in order to **B** preserve the Balance of Power in *Europe*; and therefore it was necessary for both of us to provide for the worst, by making such Preparations as might enable us to engage with Vigour, as soon as either of the Parties began to push their Success **C** farther than was consistent with that Balance, which justifies the Expence we put ourselves to upon that Occasion; and accordingly the Preparations we made at that Time had their desired Effect, by making *France* and its Allies confine their Views within those Bounds, and put a Stop to the Progress of their Arms in the Midst of Victory, and when it was not in the Power of the *Emperor* to prevent their pushing their Conquests as far as they had a Mind.

And with regard to our Disputes with *Spain*, it is very well known, my Lords, that they could not at that Time afford us any Pretence for engaging in the War. The *Spaniards* had given us no new Cause of Complaint: On the contrary, the King of *Spain* had but the Year before sent express Orders to his Governors in *America* not to molest any *English* Ship in those Seas, that did not appear to be concerned in any illicit Trade; and as to past Injuries, our Commissaries were then in *Spain*, and we had Reason to hope for a full Reparation as soon as the Account could be adjusted, which from the very Nature of the Case

could not be done in a short Time, because it depended upon those Proofs and Vouchers which were to be transmitted from *America* to *Europe*, and when any of those Proofs or Vouchers wanted an Explanation, it became necessary to send back to *America* for it, and to wait the Return before any Thing could be determined. This plainly shews the Reason why our Negotiations with *Spain* were so tedious, and why it took up such a long Time before we could be assured, whether that Court would, or would not do us Justice by fair Means.

Thus, I think, it appears, my Lords, from the whole Tenor of our late Conduct, that our Ministers have at no Time put the Nation to any Expence but what was necessary from the Circumstances the Affairs of *Europe* were then in; and that the only Fault they have been guilty of, has been, their preserving the Nation in a continued State of Peace and Tranquillity, without suffering **D** any material Alteration to be made in the political System of Affairs in *Europe*; for as the *Emperor*, or at least the House of *Austria*, got *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia* in lieu of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and as *France* had before the Command, and even **E** the Possession, of the Duchy of *Lorraine* whenever they pleased, I must insist upon it, that the House of *Austria* was as powerful, and *France* no more powerful at the Time of the late *Emperor's* Death, as at any Time for twenty Years past. The *Emperor's* unexpected Death, and the Disputes that have arisen, and are like to arise among the Princes of the *Empire* upon that fatal Emergency, has, 'tis true, made a great Alteration in the Affairs of *Europe*; but this will not, I hope, be imputed to the Weakness or Wickedness of our Ministers, or to any improper Complaisance they have shewn for the Court of *France*.

From the Conduct of our foreign Affairs, therefore, no Man can have Reason to suspect our Ministers of having Designs inconsistent with the Interest or Welfare of their Country; and as no unnecessary or oppressive Laws have been pass'd, nor any one Instance of a Law's being wrested towards the Oppression of their Enemies, notwithstanding the many unprecedented Provocations they have met with, no Man can have the least Reason to suspect their having Designs against the Liberties of the People; nor can I, my Lords, believe, that such Suspicions as the noble Duke was pleased to mention, are entertained by any great Number of Men in the Kingdom. As by my Office I am obliged to converse with Numbers of Men who have no Dependence upon the Court, if there were such general Suspicions, I should think, I must have heard of them; and yet I can freely declare, I never heard any one signify his having such Suspicions, either against the Minister whose Conduct is now under our Consideration, or against any one other of his Majesty's Servants. But suppose there were such Suspicions: Suppose they were as general as has been represented; I have shewn very good Reasons why they should not be of such Weight as to prevail with us to fix an indelible Mark of Infamy upon a Minister's Character, by addressing his Majesty to remove him from his Councils and Presence for ever. I have shewn how apt the People are to find Fault with the Conduct of Ministers, and how ready to believe every Story published against them: I have shewn, what a Number of personal Enemies every Minister must necessarily have, and how industrious they will be to propagate false Rumours, and inflame the Jealousy of the People. By the Industry of a Minister's personal Enemies, especially in this

Country, where every Man may not only say, but print and publish almost whatever he pleases, and by the willing Credulity of the People in such Cases, Suspicions may be raised and propagated so as to become general, without the least Foundation; and therefore, those general Rumours or Suspicions can never be a proper or just Foundation for any Resolution in Parliament, and much less for a Resolution that makes a Man appear upon Record as a weak or wicked Minister.

Whatever the Suspicions of the People may be, my Lords, the Parliament should have a very solid Foundation before they express their Suspicions by such a standing Resolution; and therefore, I hope your Lordships will give me Leave to shew, that there is not the least Foundation for any of the Suspicions that have been mentioned. To imagine or suppose, that any one Minister solely ingrosses the Ear of his Sovereign, and usurps the sole Disposal of all the Favours of the Crown, is, I am sure, no Compliment to the King upon the Throne, and it is a Supposition that can be made by no Man, who has the Honour of knowing any Thing of his present Majesty's Character. His Ears, my Lords, it is well known, are open not only to all his Ministers, but to all his Subjects. He is as ready to hear their Complaints, as he is willing to redress their Grievances; and never does bestow any Favour without examining, as far as his high Station will give him Leave, into the Character of the Person recommended. The Minister whose Conduct and Character is now under our Consideration, has certainly a great Share of his Majesty's Confidence; but this does not proceed from any blind Attachment to him, but from the Experience his Majesty has had of his

Fidelity

Fidelity and Wisdom; and to those who have the Honour to be near his Majesty's Person, or in his Councils, it is very well known, that this Minister's Recommendation does not always succeed, nor does his Opinion always prevail in Council; for a Candidate has often been preferred in Opposition to the Candidate recommended by him, and many Things have been resolved on in Council contrary to his Sentiments and Advice. Nay, this the noble Lords who support this Motion seem to acknowledge, when they say, that the present War was resolved on contrary to his Advice; and therefore, I am surprized, they should charge him with being the sole Author of every Step of our Conduct for so many Years past.

For this Reason, the Hon. Gentleman aimed at by this Motion, can no Way be charged with having solely ingrossed the Ear of his Sovereign, nor can his present Majesty's known Character admit of such a Charge against any Man in the Kingdom; and as to the Posts, Offices, and other Favours in the Disposal of the Crown, it is very well known, that he never attempts to recommend any Person directly to his Majesty, but such as are soliciting for something belonging particularly to his own Department. Indeed, as there is and ought, and always will be, under a wise King, a very good Correspondence between his Majesty's Ministers, they often recommend to one another; and when a Gentleman of the Army, Navy, or any other Sort of Business, thinks he has a Title to the Favour of this Minister, he may, perhaps, apply to him for his Recommendation, not to the Crown, but to the Minister or great Officer whose Business and Duty it is to recommend to his Majesty the most fit and proper Person for the Office or Employment then to be disposed of.

Thus, my Lords, we may see, that this Minister's Levee may be crowded with Suitors of all Sorts of Characters, without his usurping the Disposal of any of the Favours of the Crown, except such as particularly belong to his own Province.

I shall grant, my Lords, it is in the general a right Maxim for the King not to take Notice of, or have any Regard to a Gentleman's Behaviour in Parliament, with respect to the Distribution of those Favours, B which the Crown has to bestow. But even this Maxim may admit of some Exceptions. We know there is in the Kingdom a Party of professed Jacobites; we know there is likewise a Party of professed Republicans. I do not say there are C any of either of these Parties now in Parliament; but if they should get into Parliament: If they should there pursue Jacobite or Republican Schemes; and if any of the Officers of the Army, or any Civil Officer should, by his Behaviour in D Parliament, countenance and support such Schemes, I believe it will not be said, that the King ought not to take Notice of such Behaviour in Parliament: I believe it will not be said, that it would be any Incroachment upon our Constitution, E should he turn such Officers out of his Service on account of that Behaviour.

This, I say, my Lords, will, I believe, be allowed to be an Exception from the general Rule; but I am far from applying this to any Case that has lately happened; nor do I think, that his present Majesty ever dismissed any one from his Service, on account of his Behaviour in Parliament; for his Majesty may have many Reasons for dismissing an Officer, either Civil or Military, which no Way relate to his Behaviour in Parliament; and if any Officer happens to have a Seat in Parliament, I hope it will not be said,

said, that his Majesty must not, for that Reason, dismiss him on account of a Misbehaviour he may be guilty of in some other Respect. But whatever Reasons his Majesty may at any Time have to make use of that Prerogative, which gives him a Power to dismiss an Officer from his Service, I am convinced he will not, nor will he allow any Minister to advise him to make use of this Prerogative, for preventing a Member's declaring his Sentiments freely about any Measure of Government, provided he does it with that Decency which is due to the Crown, and without any factious or seditious Manner of expressing himself upon the Subject under Debate.

As to the Declaration said to have been made in the other House by the Minister, whose Conduct is now proposed to be stigmatized by a Resolution of this, your Lordships know it is not regular in us to take Notice of any Thing said or done in the other House. Words are apt to be misunderstood, and are seldom faithfully repeated; therefore I cannot easily believe, that this Minister expressed himself exactly in the Terms represented. If he had, I am convinc'd they would have been taken Notice of in a proper Way, by some of the Members of the other House; and we should then, probably, have heard of them in a proper Manner. For this Reason, I say, my Lords, I cannot easily believe, that the Hon. Gentleman whose Character is now in Question, made such a Declaration as has been mentioned to us in this Debate, but am fully convinced, that what he said upon that Occasion has been misrepresented to the noble Duke, who has made use of it as an Argument for our agreeing to this Motion. However, suppose he had made use of these very Words which have been repeated to us, I should not think it consistent with

the known Justice and Impartiality of this House, to pass such a severe Sentence upon him as is now proposed, without first hearing him in his own Defence, and allowing him an Opportunity to explain himself; and I am the rather of this Opinion, because I think the Words, even as they have been repeated to us, may admit of such an Explanation as will make them both harmless and innocent.

Lastly, my Lords, as to the Suspicion of Corruption both at Elections and in Parliament, it is a Clamour that has generally prevailed against all Ministers, and always will prevail, as long as there is a good Correspondence between his Majesty and his Parliament. There will always be a Diversity of Opinions about every Thing almost, that comes before Parliament, and those who really differ in Opinion from his Majesty's Ministers and the Majority of Parliament, will be ready to impute the Prevalence of the contrary Opinion to any Thing rather than true Reason and sound Argument. This is an Error which every Man's personal Vanity prompts him to indulge, and as no Cause for the Prevalence of the contrary Opinion is so obvious as Corruption, therefore it is generally assigned as the Cause of the Majority's agreeing with the Administration; and this Opinion is always most industriously propagated by those who oppose the Administration, not because they differ in Opinion from the King's Ministers, but because they have a personal Resentment against some of them, or are ambitious of getting into their Places, though very probably incapable of governing so well. There is, therefore, no Possibility of removing this general Clamour against Corruption, but by interrupting that good Correspondence which now so happily subsists between his Majesty and

and his Parliament; and this might very probably be the Effect of the present Motion's being agreed to, which leads me to consider the dangerous Consequence of our agreeing to the Address proposed.

Suppose, my Lords, we should present to his Majesty such an Address as is now proposed: Suppose both Houses of Parliament should concur in that Address: It has not yet, I think, been said in this Debate, that his Majesty is by any Thing in our Constitution obliged to comply with it. His Compliance must therefore depend upon his being of Opinion, that the Address was well founded, and that therefore it would be right in him to comply with it; for if his Majesty should think the Address ill founded, and that it would be wrong in him to do such an Injury to a good Servant, as to remove him from his Councils and Presence forever, could it be consistent with his Majesty's Honour or Justice to comply with the Address of his Parliament? We may from hence see, that our presenting such an Address as is now proposed, would probably end in a Breach, perhaps an irreparable Breach, between his Majesty and his Parliament; and the Consequence of this, especially in our present Situation, I tremble to think of. From his Majesty's known Justice and Honour we must conclude, that his Majesty would certainly refuse to comply, if he thought a Compliance inconsistent with either. This would of course raise an Animosity in both Houses of Parliament against the Administration, which would make them refuse to grant those Supplies, or concur with the Administration in those Measures that are necessary for the Support of our Government; and this would necessarily occasion a total Dissolution of our present happy

Constitution. Therefore, my Lords, I must conclude, that no Lord who has a true Regard for the Success of the present War, for the Glory of the King, the Safety of the Kingdom, or the Preservation of our happy Constitution, will agree to this Motion, unless he sees more cogent Proofs of Mal-Administration, than, I think, have yet been offered in this Debate.

[*This DEBATE to be concluded, and this JOURNAL to be continued in our next.*]

As the Debates in the Political Club are mostly upon Questions that have occurred in Parliament, and as many of our Readers are desirous to have a short History of those Questions, we shall here subjoin a brief Account of the Proceedings in Parliament, which gave Rise to the Debates we have published for a Twelvemonth past.

November 15, 1739, His Majesty opened the 6th Session of last Parliament with a most gracious Speech from the Throne as usual *, which was the same Day taken into Consideration by the House of Peers, and the Speech being read, the Lord Hinton stood up, and moved for an Address †. This Motion being seconded by the Lord Viscount Falconbergh, the Lord Carteret stood up, and moved for an Amendment of the Motion, by leaving out that Paragraph which begins, *It gives us inexpressible Concern, &c.* upon which there was a very long Debate; but upon putting the Question, *If those Words should stand Part of the Question?* It was carried in the Affirmative, *Contents 68, Not Contents 41.* This occasioned a Debate in the Political Club, which the Reader may see in *London Mag.* for *May and June 1740.*

November 16, Mr. Pulteney stood

* See *London Magazine* for November 1739, P. 626.

† See *Ditto*, P. 626, Col. 2.

up in the House of Commons, and after having caused to be read some Sections in two Acts of Parliament passed in the Reign of Queen Anne, which were expired, he moved for Leave to bring in a Bill for the more effectual securing and encouraging the *A Trade of his Majesty's British Subjects in America, and for the Encouragement of Seamen to enter into his Majesty's Service* *. Which Motion, after some Debate, was agreed to without a Division; and it occasioned a Debate in the Political Club, which the Reader may see in *London Mag.* for July and August 1740.

November 27, Mr. Sandys stood up in the House of Commons, and made a Motion which the Reader will find in *London Mag.* for August 1740, Page 372, Col. 2. †. This Motion occasioned a long Debate in that House, but the Question was carried in the Negative, 177 Noes, 95 Yeas. The Debate upon this Subject in the Political Club is in *London Mag.* for August and September last.

November 29, There were three Motions made in the House of Commons, which the Reader may see in *London Mag.* for February last, Page 61 ‡, every one of which occasioned a Debate, and upon every one the Question was carried in the Negative. The first was made by Sir William Wyndham, and the Division was, Noes 172, Yeas 98. The second was made by Mr. Pulteney, and was carried in the Negative without a Division. And the third was made by Edmund Waller, Esq; and was carried in the Negative likewise without a Division. The Reader may see the Debates in the Political Club, upon the last two of these Questions, in *London Mag.* for February, March, and April last.

January 29, 1740, Philip Gybon, Esq; moved in the House of Com-

mons, that the Serjeant at Arms attending the House, should go with the Mace into Westminster-Hall, and the Courts there, and into the Court of Requests, and the Places adjacent, and summon the Members there to attend the Service of the House ||; which being ordered accordingly, and the Serjeant returned; Mr. Sandys stood up, and concluded a short Speech with a Motion as inserted in *London Mag.* for October last, Page 484. This Motion occasioned a long Debate in that House; but upon the Question's being put, it passed in the Negative, Noes 223, Yeas 207. And this gave Rise to a Debate in the Political Club, which the Reader may see in *London Mag.* for October and November last.

December 18, The said Mr. Gybon moved in the House of Commons, that the House should be called over upon Wednesday the 16th of January then next; but upon the Question's being put, it passed in the Negative, Noes 113, Yeas 82 §. January 31, Mr. Pulteney moved in

the same House, that it should be called over upon that Day 3 Weeks, the 21st Day of February then next **; which Motion, after some Debate, was agreed to; and it occasioned a Debate in the Political Club, inserted in *London Mag.* for December last, Page 565.

February 21, A Motion was made in the House of Commons, inserted in the *London Mag.* for April last, P. 168 ††, which occasioned a long Debate in that House, but upon the Question's being put, it passed in the Negative. Upon this Question there was a Debate in the Political Club, which the Reader may see in *London Mag.* for April last, Page 168.

February 28, The Earl of Halifax stood up in the House of Peers, and having taken Notice of a Message sent by his Majesty to the House of Com-

* See Votes for that Session, P. 9. † See Votes, P. 31. ‡ See Ditto, P. 208. || See Ditto, P. 308. § See Ditto, P. 59. ** See Ditto, P. 105. †† See Ditto, P. 165.

Commons*, which had not been communicated to their Lordships, he concluded his Speech with a Motion, which the Reader will find in *London Mag.* for last *September*, Page 434. This occasioned a long Debate in that House, and the previous Question being put, it was carried in the Negative, which prevented the putting of any Question upon the Earl's Motion. Upon this Subject there was a Debate in the Political Club, inserted in *London Mag.* for *September* and *October* last.

March 19, A Bill having passed the House of Commons, intitled, *A Bill for making more effectual the Laws now in being for disabling Persons from being chosen Members of, or sitting or voting in the House of Commons, who have any Pension during Pleasure, or for any Number of Years, or any Offices held in Trust for them*; and the said Bill having been sent up to the House of Lords †, it was there read a first Time, and on the said 19th of March it was read a second Time, when a Motion was made of course for its being committed, but the same being opposed, there ensued a very long Debate in that House, and upon the Question's being put for committing the Bill, it passed in the Negative, *Not Contents 52, Contents 40.* After which the Question was put for rejecting the Bill, which was agreed to without a Division. This gave Rise to a Debate in the Political Club, which the Reader may see in the *London Mag.* for *December* last, in the Appendix to the *London Mag.* for 1740, and in the *London Mag.* for *January* and *February* last.

L-d G—E's Speech against the Augmentation of Troops.

S I R,

THE Hon. Gentleman that made the Motion for an Aug-

1741

* See Votes, P. 134.

mentation to our present Army of seven Regiments of Foot, did plainly tell you at the same Time, that he did likewise intend to propose the raising also of four Regiments more of Marines: But as I am against every Part of the Motion already made, so I shall be against that intended to be made.

I am against this Augmentation of Troops, because no one Reason has been given to shew the Necessity of it; and was it necessary, I should be for the adding of fifteen or twenty Men to the Companies now in being, rather than the raising of new Corps or Regiments, which will be not only the most burdensome and expensive Way to the Nation, but may also prove the most dangerous to our Constitution.

The Hon. Gentleman that opened this Debate, seemed to hint that these additional Troops would, in reality, be no Augmentation to our Army, being only to replace those sent abroad on the late Expedition to *America*. But I hope he will forgive me if I say, that it is a fallacious Way of arguing, and not true in Fact.

It is true, indeed, they are pretty equal in Number to those sent abroad, but they are so many more than the Parliament last Year ever intended keeping on Foot in *England*; for those very Troops sent on the Expedition were raised with no other View than to be sent abroad, so that, in reality, this is an Addition of so many more Men.

And I am so far from agreeing to the raising of more Forces, that I would not even consent to the keeping up the present Number of useless Troops, was it not with a View of making them of some Service to their Country, by addressing his Majesty to employ some of the marching Regiments as Marines on board some of the Men of War.

But

† See Ditto, P. 108.

But now I am talking of Marines, where is the Necessity, supposing it was even requisite Marines should be raised, that it should be done by Way of Regiments, to put to unnecessary Charges a Nation already groaning under the heavy Load of A Taxes, Duties and Excises? Why not rather as independent Companies, and so to be sent on board such Ships where there may be a Deficiency of Sailors, by which Means not only the Pay of the Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels, Majors, &c. would be saved, but also there would be more Seamen spared for the Merchants carrying on their Trade?

But as I do not at present think any additional Marines needful, there being, as I said before, marching Regiments sufficient that may be spared to be employed that Way in Case of Necessity, so I never will be for the keeping on foot a single Company more than is requisite for the Support of the Government. But when instead of that, I think, the too great Increase of the Army may become its Subversion, by making Slaves of a free People, I shall always oppose it; and to shew the Gentlemen of this House from History, how all free Countries have been enslaved by Armies, would be taking up of their Time to no Purpose, and telling them what they know better than myself.

I must own, Sir, I can see but one Reason for raising at this present Juncture this additional Number of Troops, and that is, to strengthen the Hands of the Minister against the next Elections, by giving him the Power of disposing of Commissions to the Sons, Brothers, Nephews, Cousins, and Friends of such as have Interest in Boroughs, into some of which, perhaps, Troops may be sent to procure the free Election of their Members, in Imitation of the late Czarina sending her Troops into Po-

land to secure the free Election of a King.

But still there is one Thing more fatal than all I have yet named, that must be the Consequence of so great a Body of Troops being kept on foot in *England*, and will be the finishing Stroke to all our Liberties. For as the Towns in *England* will not be able much longer to contain Quarters for them, most of those who keep publick Houses being near ruined by Soldiers billeted on them; so on Pretence of the Necessity of it, Barracks will be built for quartering them, which will be as so many little Fortresses, with strong Garrisons in them, erected in all Parts of *England*, which can tend to nothing, but by Degrees to subdue and enslave the Kingdom.

But if ever this Scheme should be attempted, it will be incumbent on every *Englishman* to endeavour to prevent it by all Methods; and as it would be the last Stand that could be ever made for our Liberties, rather than suffer it to be put in Execution, it would be our Duty to draw our Swords, and never put them up till our Liberties were secured, and the Authors of our intended Slavery brought to condign Punishment.

Sir, in Answer to what the Hon. Gentleman mentioned, who said, there was not only a Possibility, but a Probability of the *French* attempting very soon to invade *England*, I will not dispute that Point with him, tho' I do not believe it, but will, for Argument Sake, grant it to be true, and therefore will, on that Supposition, beg the General that spoke lately, and said that the raising of Troops in Regiments would be of more Service than by adding a Number of Men to each Company of the Regiments now in being, to answer me this Question:

Whether, if he was a Prince of a small

small Territory, and knew he was to be attacked by eight thousand Men, and was very poor, and had very little Money to spare, he would not rather chuse for his Defence to raise ten thousand Men by adding more Men to every Company, than only to raise five Thousand in the Method he proposed, since the five Thousand, with so great a Number of Officers, would cost as much as the ten Thousand in the other Way? But as I am persuaded, without waiting for the Gentleman's Answer, that he would chuse the ten Thousand, so I beg Leave to bring it to a Comparison of the present Situation of our Affairs at Home.

England is indebted forty eight Millions (tho' after near thirty Years Peace;) there is no one Thing left that can be taxed, but what has already a heavy Duty laid on it, so that with the Land-Tax, Duties on Salt, Leather, Soap, Candles, and all other Things, every Freeholder of *England* pays near 14*s.* in the Pound, and if the War continues, there will be no Means left for the raising Money but by the Way of Lottery, of which People will soon grow tired, and the last Recourse we can have must be to mortgage the Sinking Fund, which, perhaps, will not answer, by reason that the Produce thereof, by the Want of our Trade in Time of War, will come but to little, and therefore, Economy is absolutely necessary, and if it is to be determined that Troops must be raised, it ought, at least, to be done in the cheapest Manner.

In Answer to what another Hon. Gentleman said, who told the House he had been acquainted by a Person of Rank in the *Emperor's* Service, that the great Misfortune that befel the *Emperor's* Arms during the last War, was found to be their having too many Men in each Company: I do not in the least doubt

but that he had been told so, but shall beg Leave to give other Reasons for his having been constantly beat than those that he has mentioned.

It is well known, Sir, that there were Factions at the Court of *Vienna* as well as at this, and that there was also there a Prime Minister who had acted like ours at home, and that he had quarrelled with the chief and greatest Men, and in Contradiction to the general Voice of the People, acted in his own despotic Way, and had laid aside the best Generals because they would not be his Tools, and employ'd the bad ones, which I ascribe in great Part to be the late *Emperor's* Misfortunes in his last Wars; and to prove what I say to be true, I appeal to every Body's Memory, whether the *Emperor's* Troops, when commanded by Prince *Eugene*, did not behave well, tho' at that Time there was the same Number of Men in every Company as in the last War; so the Fault must be, as I said at first, in the Generals.

Upon the Whole, I am against any Augmentation of Troops whatsoever, unless I hear better Reasons given, (*England* having already in Pay near seventy-two thousand Men) but more particularly by the Way of eleven more Regiments; and, I hope, I shall be forgiven, if during the Debate I shall take the Liberty of speaking again; for I am determined to fight, Inch by Inch, every Proposition that tends, as I think this does, to the enslaving my Country.

Common Sense, June 6. № 226.

Admiral VERNON's Behaviour at home and abroad, and the Treatment he has met with.

WHILST the grateful People will hear of no other Name but *Vernon*, it would be unpardonable

able in a publick Writer to be altogether silent with respect to the Actions of a Man, who hath reviv'd the expiring Glory of his Country.

In a virtuous Age, when publick Spirit is grown into a Fashion, great and generous Actions become so common, that they lose their Wonder; but when *Vice prevails and impious Men bear Savay*,—when no Preference is to be obtain'd but by a Prostitution of Character, he that is so desperate as to be honest, and prefer the publick Good before the Favour of those whose Power can destroy his growing Hopes of Fortune, merits a double Share of Praise. Our Poet *Shakespear* hath compared a good Action in a corrupt Age to a Taper in a dark Night: Observe (says he) how far that little Taper throws its Light, just so shines a virtuous Action in a vicious World.

When we look back and consider the Behaviour of this great Man in a more private Situation, we must own, that all he hath done is no more than what his Country had Reason to expect from him. We saw him set aside from that Rank, to which, from his long Service, he had an undoubted Right: We saw People put over his Head for no other Merit but for being more obsequious to that Man, who hath taken upon him to control in every Province without understanding any one. The Reasons for his Dislike to him were well known; he could not be a Slave, he would not give up the Rights of those that trusted him. It was the same noble Spirit which animated him against the Corruptor, that animated him against the Spaniards; a Spirit to oppose all the Enemies of his Country. Had any of those who have prostituted themselves in a certain Place, been put at the Head of this Expedition, we may pronounce it, that *Porto Bello*, *Fort Chagre*, and *Carta-*

gena would have remain'd untouched to this Hour. A Letter, a private Hint from the Corruptor wou'd have had more Weight with one of them, than the Honour and Interest of their Country; but this great Man was resolved to interpret his Orders for the publick Good, as appears by his Letter after the taking of *Porto Bello*, laid before the House, where he says, *he hopes what he had done comes within the Meaning of his Orders*; a plain Proof it was not within the Letter of them.

It was fortunate for the Nation, that those who had signaliz'd themselves for nothing but a servile Obedience to one Man, declined this Service; an unhealthy Climate would not agree with their Persons; besides, they had so endeared themselves to the Corruptor by the Service they had done him in a certain Place, that he did not care to part with them: So that Necessity and the good Genius of *England* conspired to throw the Command upon

D Admiral *Vernon*. He came like another *Cincinnatus* from the Plough, and even put up the Affront that had before been offer'd to him, when he saw that accepting a new Command might render him serviceable to his Country.

E When we consider how he was fitted out, we wonder that he did not fall a Sacrifice, much more that he should make Conquests.—Our Admiral had Enemies before, and Enemies behind him; he had the *Spaniards* in *America*, and a worse Enemy at home, contriving to disappoint him.

The Corruptor thought the martial Genius of our Admiral would push him upon some Enterprize, in which, being so miserably provided, he must certainly miscarry, which would be Matter of Triumph to one who had declared publickly, that he was driven into the War against his Judgment; he would have had

had an Opportunity of laying all Misfortunes to the Charge of the Admiral, and of the Gentlemen in the Opposition who had driven him into the War; nay, he was so zealous to render it ineffectual, that after it was proclaim'd he put his Negative on a Bill, to entitle the Seamen to the same Share of what should be taken from the Enemy, as they had in Q. Anne's War.

The Gentlemen in the Opposition, altho' they have had no Interest at Court, have had Credit enough with the People to raise a Spirit which defeated the infamous Convention. If they have driven him into the War, they did it at the Risk of that Credit, which I believe they will have no Reason to be ashamed of.

I cannot deny but that the Corruptor hath now many Reasons to hate this gallant Man; for he hath expos'd the Nonsense and Absurdity of his ridiculous Politicks; he hath shewn how many Thousands might have been saved to the Merchants, how many Millions to the Nation, if this Work had been done 15 Years ago. If half that Fleet sent to conduct *Don Carlos* and a Spanish Army into *Italy*, had then been employed in our own Quarrel, we needed not to be at any Expence to pull down the House of *Austria* at that Time, in order to put us under a Necessity of being at the Expence of raising it up again now.

With what Facility our Wrongs might have been redress'd, was shewn many Years ago by the Gentlemen in the Opposition; our gallant Admiral, who, to his immortal Honour, was one of that Number, declared in a certain Place, that he knew *Porto Bello* so well, that he would engage to take it with six Ships only; at which Time the most ignorant of Mankind asserted, that it was impregnable.

But how was our Admiral treated

after the Conquest of *Porto Bello*? He was left a considerable Time in America without Orders, and without Supplies. He says himself in one Letter, that he was sent to Sea with *Ships over-masted, rotten Shrouds and old Guardship Rigging*: In another, that he can't keep the Sea for Want of Stores: In a third, that the Rigging sent him was good for nothing but a Spithead Expedition. We all remember the Delays in sending out the Land Forces that were to follow him; the Wind for some Time furnish'd an Excuse, but unluckily for our Corruptor the Wind turn'd favourable, and then they were kept back without an Excuse; but the World need not be inform'd that our Admiral had an Enemy at home, C who did more to obstruct his Designs, than the Spaniards abroad were able to do.

The Elections now coming on, the Citizens of *London* name four Persons whom they judge fit to represent them in Parliament. The D Enemy of our Admiral, in order to affront him, issues his Orders to his Slaves, to couple him with some Persons whom (he knew) the Citizens despised, and set him up in Opposition to their free Nomination; a Proceeding the Admiral E would disdain. He is no Stranger to the Honours the Citizens have done him, and the Respect they have for his very Name; but the People themselves rescued him out of this Company, and set him up in a more proper Place. All the F Mercenaries immediately appear against him; Tools ecclesiastical and military, Troopers, Dragoons, Foot-Soldiers, Excisemen, trading J—— and Bumbailiffs, are commanded to oppose the Man who hath done his Country so much Honour, and is G still exposing his Life in its Service. When they perceiv'd that all their Tricks, all their Menaces could not hinder him from having a Majority of

of free Voices, they rob'd him of his Right by the most impudent Proceeding that ever was attempted in any Country where so much as the Name of Liberty was left. (See p. 247.)

In the mean Time, the People of several Places were contending which should be foremost in doing Honour to Admiral *Vernon*; he had formerly serv'd for *Penryn*, in *Cornwall*, where by his Estate, and by his Acquaintance with the People, he had a natural Interest; here he is named as a Candidate,—the little *Cornish Undertaker* receives Orders to bribe against him, but he carries it in Spite of Corruption. The same Orders are sent to *Ipswich*, and to *Rochester*. In the last of these Places I will mention what I have heard said to the Honour of a Gentleman who hath the Command of the Yards and Docks there, That he excused himself from complying with those arbitrary Orders.

Orders are likewise sent to *Canterbury* to oppose a near Relation of the Admiral's, the Corruptor being resolv'd to declare open War against every Man that was so much as allied to him.

In fine, there is no Affront or Indignity but what the Corruptor and his Slaves have laid upon this great Man; but let us see how hath this Behaviour turn'd to his Advantage.

His setting up the Admiral in the City, in Opposition to his own Friends there, was what put it into the Peoples Heads to set him up at *Westminster*; and this hath serv'd only to shew that our Corruptor and his Gang are so detested, that there is not an independant Man in the Kingdom that would give one of them a Vote. His thrusting some People into the poor mercenary *Boroughs* might serve to deceive, and make People think he had some Friends, because the Tricks, the

Bribery, and the Corruption of the returning Officers, practised at that Distance, do not so publickly appear at this Place; but where his natural Interest ought to be the greatest, because his Actions are seen and known, that he should not be simply hated, but detested; —to have this shewn to the World by his own ingenious Contrivance, is a *Coupe de Maitre* of that blundering Head, which hath before given us a hundred Instances of the same wonderful Talent.

Craftsman, June 6. No 779.

The Politicks on both Sides, with respect to foreign Affairs.

THREE is no End of Controversy, when the contending Parties, or either of them, are obstinately resolved not to give up the Point, out of Pride, Humour, or a mere Spirit of Opposition. When a Man of a true disputatious Temper finds himself foil'd in the main Argument, or Position, which occasion'd the Controversy, he will endeavour to pervert the State of the Question, and have Recourse to a thousand little Subterfuges, rather than acknowledge his Error, and leave his Antagonist Master of the Field.—But of all Disputes, none are so pertinaciously carry'd on as those about the Conduct of political Affairs, in which the Character, Credit and Interest of great Men are essentially concern'd.

There cannot be a stronger Instance of this Observation than our late tedious Disputes about the Treaty of *Hanover*, in the Year 1725, which led the Dance to a long Series of contradictory Treaties founded upon it. The Right Rev. Author of the *Enquiry*, in 1726, gave the first Cue to the Party, and was follow'd by a Multitude of Writers on the same Side, who endeavour'd with all their Art to justify the ridiculous

culous Policy of reducing the House of *Austria*, and aggrandizing the House of *Bourbon*.

The next wise Resolution was to separate *Spain* from the *Emperor*; and this was effectually compleated by the Treaty of *Seville*, in 1729, A which paved the Way for the Introduction of a large Body of *Spanish* Troops into *Italy*, contrary to the Intent of the Quadruple Alliance, and laid the Foundation of a Re-union between *France* and *Spain*.

For as the principal Article of this Treaty, with relation to *Don Carlos*, could not be effectuated, without great Hazard and Expence, against the late *Emperor's* Consent, which he seem'd at first vigorously resolved to oppose; and the Experience of several Years having convinced our Negotiators that they were got into a wrong Track; they made a sudden Turn about, and concluded the second Treaty of *Vienna*, without the Participation of *France*, contrary to an express Article in the Treaty of *Hanover*, D which intirely reconcil'd that Court to the Crown of *Spain*, as very soon afterwards appear'd.

By this Treaty of *Vienna*, we not only guaranteed the *Pragmatick Sanction*, but solemnly stipulated to support the *Emperor* against all Attacks, which it was natural to suppose would be made upon him; but when his *Italian* Dominions were invaded, and almost over-run by the united Force of *France*, *Spain*, and *Sardinia*, for Want of any Succours and Assistance from us, according to F Treaties, he was at last obliged to clap up a very disadvantageous, and even dishonourable Peace, by the important Cession of *Lorain* to *France*, and the rich Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily* to another Branch of the House of *Bourbon*, with some Compliances to the Demands of his *Sardinian* Majesty.

During all this Time, the Pa-

triots, as they are ironically call'd by the ministerial Writers, behaved intirely consistent with themselves, and fully exemplify'd their Principles by their Conduct. They publickly declared their Disapprobation of the *Hanover* Treaty, as soon as it was made, and too prophetically foretold the fatal Consequences of it. Their Apprehensions of the *Seville* Treaty were equally well-grounded.—But the same Gentlemen approved of the second *Vienna* Treaty in the main, which once more united us with the *Emperor*, tho' they could not in Conscience flatter the Negotiators of it so far as to justify the clandestine Method of transacting it, for fear of Consequences, which have since attended it; nor of leaving the *Emperor* in the lurch, when his Dominions in *Italy* were invaded by the united Forces of *France*, *Spain*, and *Sardinia*.

In short, these mal-content Patriots have, from the Beginning to the End of the Opposition, been uniformly consistent, both in Principle and Practice, in their Endeavours to support the Interest of the House of *Austria*, against the aspiring Views of the House of *Bourbon*; whilst the ministerial Party left no Arts untry'd to depress the former, and exalt the latter.

The sudden Death of the late *Emperor*, with the present confused Situation of *Europe* occasion'd by it, at so critical a Conjunction, have sufficiently justify'd the Conduct of the independent Nobility, a Country Gentlemen in the House of Commons, and open'd the Eyes both of the Friends and Enemies of the House of *Austria*. The true Friends of that august Family, however ridiculed by their *frenchify'd* Adversaries, readily concurr'd with his Majesty's gracious Recommendation, to support the Queen of *Hungary* in her just Rights to her hereditary Dominions, and to assist her

her illustrious Consort in his View to the Imperial Diadem; which *Great Britain, Holland, and all other Powers concern'd in the Balance of Europe, ought to support with their utmost Force, against all his Competitors.*

If we examine the Conduct of both Parties, with relation to *Spain*, in the same impartial Manner, we shall find the Mal-contents fully justify'd, and the Court-Conformists self-condemn'd. The first never ceased complaining of the Depredations, Insults, and Cruelties of the *Spaniards*; whilst the other Party became their Advocates, as it were for Hire, and laid all the Blame upon their own Countrymen. But the Voice of the Nation at last prevailing, and some noble Persons in his Majesty's Council finding it high Time to declare War against *Spain*, the Minister was obliged, for his own Sake, to come into it, tho' sorely against his Will; calling it, in an insolent, sneering Manner, the *C——r's, or Colonel Y——ke's War*, and took a manifest Pleasure in foreboding the ill Consequences of it.

When the War was thus resolved on, who was thought the most proper Person to conduct it in the *West-Indies*? — Why a Patriot, a rank, stigmatized Patriot, who was sent for up, all on a sudden, from his Country Retirement, after a long Series of ill Usage, being turn'd out of Parliament, opprobriously treated, and set aside from his just Rank in the Navy. But notwithstanding all, this brave, publick-spirited Man, came up to Town, and accepted of the Commission, which he hath since executed with so much Glory and Advantage to his Country, as well as immortal Honour to himself; for both his prudent Conduct, and distinguish'd Bravery, will set him, at least, upon an equal Foot in History, with the *Drakes, Raleighs, Blakes*, and other renowned Admirals of ancient Times.

But tho' this important Charge was laid upon him, without any Sollicitation from himself, either directly or indirectly, as far as I have ever heard, there are just Grounds to suspect and believe, that when A he was pitch'd upon for this hazardous Undertaking, one Man in particular meant him no Good at the Bottom, but rather intended to expose and sacrifice him, like poor *Hosier*, by sending him to perish in an unwholesome Climate, with a B much more inconsiderable Force, Instructions equally doubtful, and upon what was then thought an impracticable Enterprize. This appear'd plainly enough upon his first great and unexpected Success against *Porto-Bello*.

C The taking and demolishing *Cartagena* was treated by the same Person, and his Creatures, as no considerable Action; tho' it open'd the Navigation of that River, and laid the Foundation of a free Trade with those Parts of the World.

D Our last glorious Success against the Forts and Batteries of *Cartagena* hath, indeed, been put in a fairer Light, either out of real Self-Conviction, or affected Policy, and made the Subject of a publick Triumph, both in Town and Country, E not excepting even the ministerial Party themselves; by firing the Tower and Park Guns, Ringing of Bells, Bonfires, Illuminations, and other outward Demonstrations of Joy. Yet there still seem'd to be a secret Grudging at the general Popularity of *Vernon's Name*, which even Children in Arms were taught to lisp out, and the Court Party could not help putting on an awkward, half-pleased Countenance, whilst they were obliged to applaud his Actions.

G But whatever shuffling and double Part the Admiral's Enemies may have play'd during the whole Course of the War, and his ever-memorable

ble Conduct of it, the People in general have done him Justice, and testify'd their Gratitude, for his eminent Services. They have not confined themselves to congratulatory Addresses, publick Rejoicings, and other Honours, but have given A him the most essential Marks of their Esteem, by fairly chusing him a Representative in Parliament for two considerable Cities, and two Corporations, of their own Accord, upon the *Country Interest*; whereas it is notorious, and very remarkable, that the *Court Party* have set him up at no Place, except for the City of *London*, which was evidently design'd as a Banter upon him, or a little Artifice to lug in two other Persons, who were disagreeable to the Majority of the Citizens, by joining them with so popular a Name.

Common Sense, June 13. № 227.

SIR,

If, amidst the Hurry of your Politicks, you can find a Space to crowd in the following Narration, it may make some of your Readers stare, and perhaps please others who delight to hear strange Stories. Whether the Account be true, or fabulous, or allegorical, it matters not.

DON or about the End of April last departed this Life, to the great Joy of all good Citizens and Subjects, the most destructive and devouring Monster *Polyglotte*. This Creature was near 7 Years old at the Time of his Decease; his Birth was extremely fabulous, for he was begotten, as the Poets tell us, by *Plates* upon *Cybele*, his Mother having conceived of him by applying to her eyes and her Touch, a certain miraculous Charm, being an Inscription written in mystick Characters and Figures on some small Pieces of fine Papers, given out under the Hand and with the *probatum est* of that great Adept and Rosicrucian; these Charms are acknowledg'd to be, when regularly apply'd, the grand Specifick; they give Friends, Health, Fortunes, Honours, and Preferments; for it seems these little Scrolls were readily convertible into certain Pieces of white and yellow Earth, which have a wonderful and sudden Operation upon all qualmish Consciences and decay'd Constitutions, and it is the greatest Restorative, the only *Magisterium*, or, as some Authors term it, *Ministerium*.

They inform us that there are some Wizards in *Barbary*, who anoint the Hands of

those who enquire their Fortunes of them with a certain black Ointment, that presently enables them to see and enjoy what they most desire. The *Banian Indians* pretend to have a Power to charm Crocodiles and monstrous Serpents. What the Composition was that charm'd his Mother and gave Birth to *Polyglotte*; we have hinted at already; as to the Nature of this Medicine, all agree it is a Mineral, and affirm it to be a terraneous heavy Substance of somewhat a brighter Yellow than our *Jesuits Bark*, and brought originally like that, from *Peru*. Be these Things as they may, it certainly produced and nourish'd the most terrible and powerful Monster that ever appear'd on the Face of the Earth. He was named by his Keeper, the *seventh Son* of the *seventh Son*, and gave out he could cure all Diseases, when 'tis well known his only Remedy in all Distempers were Bleeding and Purging, and now and then a Blister or a Caustick; for Evacuations were, as his Keeper Mr. *Palmer* always affirm'd, at all Times necessary. This Beast had 400 Tongues, some say 500, and was said to have a Power of ravaging the Earth and controlling the Seas, and to claim Privileges, Homages, Prerogatives, and Laws over all Mankind. When it put forth its whole 500 Tongues all at once and roar'd, as sometimes it would, one might observe more than 300 of them swoln and black as if full of Corruption. But it was dreadful to see the Creature raise his Crest and brandish his gilded Tail, and indeed his Roar was awful and formidable; the Tone he express'd himself in (in which he always obey'd the Order of his Keeper) was, when he was pleased or contented with his Commands, *Haigb, Haigb*; when not contented, *Hob, Hob*: But if at any Time he shew'd any Discontent or Want of Relish to cry, *Haigb, Haigb*, or *Hob, Hob*, as his Keeper directed, Mr. *Palmer* immediately threw into his devouring Jaws whole Shovels full of the yellow Food he delighted in, which immediately quieted and made him easy; for this most tremendous Creature would, when indulged with this Food, become at once as docile, tame, compliant and crouching an Animal as ever stooped under a Burden: However, it was observable that tho' the Monster swallow'd immense Quantities, yet he was never satisfy'd, it never digest'd, but came away whole, and Mr. *Palmer* always gave it him again, and thus he was a great Gainer by feeding him; for it is observable that tho' the Beast appear'd to the less observing, to be in vigorous Health and Spirits, his Obesity and Bulk were only occasion'd by his being swoln and bloated with Corruption, like an hydroical Person wasting continually in his noble Parts, and his treacherous Appetite only hastening his Destruction by nourishing his Distemper.

As soon as *Polyglotte* came to Town Mr. *Palmer* took him intirely into his Possession, and from that Time had the whole Conduct and Care of him; for you are to know this same *Robin Palmer* had been Feeder to his Predecessor, who liv'd near 7 Years likewise, and whose Life his Keeper boasted he had prolonged by his Art to that Term, otherwise it is thought old *Polyglotte* could not, nor ought not to have existed more than 3 Years; however it be, *Robin*, the World says, has got a good Estate by shewing him. Some say he has lost Reputation by it, for that it was but a yeomanly Employment; but this worldly wise Man knows well that Money is Reputation, and I have heard some who were well acquainted with *Bob* affirm, there was not a Man in *Europe* who knew the Force and Weight of it better than he; he used to laugh with his Familiars and say, those Politicians who pretended to dispense this same *Aurum potabile* before him, were awkward Bunglers, and did not give it in so large Quantities as was necessary, for that to his Knowledge every Thing had its Price; I have intoxicated (said he) my Monster to that Degree with this *Magisterium*, that he would do any, the most ridiculous Thing I pleased to command; and truly I have now and then indulged the Wantonness of my Ambition, and made him ridiculous and detestable purely to expose him and shew my Power.

But to go on with our Memoirs of this egregious *Land Leviathan*: I have made it my Busines, before I undertook to give the Publick his History, to inform myself not only of the Nature of *Polyglotte*, but to enquire likewise into the Nature of all great and wonderful Dragons, especially those who have prey'd upon the Publick; the Dragon mention'd in the 5th Book of *Virgil* is plainly a Prophecy of our Monster; sure I am, there are in the Description of that Dragon the visible Marks of the Beast *Polyglotte*.

Dryden thus translates it:

When with speckled pride
A serpent from the tomb began to glide,
His hugy bulk in seven long volumes roll'd,
Blue was his breadth of back, and streak'd
with scaly gold.

For you are to know, the Beast had one long and broad blue Stripe which crois'd his Back and was continued round his huge Belly, and no Blue in any other Part, but here and there interspersed were some red Streaks of the same Nature; his Scales, the Poet says, were Gold, and he roll'd on in seven Volumes, or Folds, or annual Courses.

The Story of *Perseus* and *Andromeda* has been explain'd allegorically thus: *Andromeda* was the Virgin Liberty, or a free People, deliver'd by the Hero *Perseus*, and out of the devouring Jaws of that Monster *Tyrant*.

Cadmus was called the Founder of the City of *Thebes*, for having destroy'd a *Dragon* who aimed at the *Destruction of the Citizens*.

Our own St. *George* killed the *Dragon* that prey'd on the Vitals of the Publick, and is to this Day, and will for ever be celebrated as our Guardian, Champion, and Protector.

Alcydes slew the *Dragon of Lerna*, who devoured the People in the *Peloponnesus*.

And a much greater and indisputable Authority than all these is from the Book of Truth itself; every one has read of the *Dragon* in the *Revelations* that had *seven Heads*, who was overcome by *Michael* and his Angels, who fought against the *Dragon* and his Angels.

B We see many Nations have been infested with *Dragons*, but have all of them found Deliverers; and so have we, for (Thanks to Heav'n) *Polyglotte* is no more.

There is in the 17th Chapter of the *Revelations* and the 8th Verse, a wonderful Description of, I think I may say, this very *Dragon*; it is undeniably the grand Prototype of the Monster we have been describing; these are the Words; "The Beast which thou sawest was and is not, and shall ascend out of the bottomless Pit, and go into Perdition; and they that dwell on the Earth shall wonder when they behold the Beast that was, and is not, *and yet is*."

This Beast, besides the large Quantities of dry Fodder that he swallow'd, as we are well inform'd, laid a Claim to, and was pay'd towards his Subsistence, the fifth Part of the Produce of every Man's Land, besides a prodigious Quantity of *Coffee*, *Tea*, *Chocolate*, &c. for his Breakfast; and for his Drink, it is more incredible how many Tons he every Hour gulp'd down, of *Wines of all Kinds*, *Beer*, *Ale*, *Cyder*, *Perry*, *Mum*, &c. and in order to have what he call'd his Due brought

E into Mr. *Palmer's* Magazines, he kept a Parcel of rascally Fellows to collect and bring in his Provisions, which if the People refused to deliver, he threaten'd to let the *Dragon* loose upon them; but when the People murmured, and Mr. *Palmer* apprehended the least Danger, his Way was immediately to creep under the Wing of his *Dragon*, where he was safe against every Attack: There was a large Chest full of immense Sums of Gold; Mr. *Palmer* has always had Power enough over his Beast to make him clap his great Claws to the Locks of this Chest and break it open, and take out vast Sums, as often as he pleased; at other Times he would, in the Beast's Name, borrow large Sums of Money, and make the Monster give his promissory *Haigb*, *Haigb*, to repay it. When *Palmer*, who lov'd Quarterstaff, was like to have the worst of it and to be driven almost quite off the Stage, he had a very particular and odd Method of covering his Head with a Helmet, made

made in the Form of a regal Crown, the Bars of which were of Gold, but so temper'd to rebate the Edge of any Weapon: This Stratagem has often preserved him from the publick Fury, and altho' it may reflect on his Courage, it is a Proof of his Prudence; for it has often saved his Brains from being knock'd out, and kept his Head upon his Shoulders.

This is what I have been able to collect of this extraordinary *Phænomenon*, but even now as I was closing my Narrative, I have receiv'd certain Advice that as the Body of *Polyglotte*, or as the Mob phrase it, the *Rump* of him was consuming to Ashes, the Curious have already discover'd an Embryo of the same Kind. It has indeed been observed that one of these powerful Animals has frequently appeared soon after the Death of another, and if it does not appear, it is generally taken as an evil Omen to the Publick: However, we hope this new *Polyglotte* will keep himself wholly untainted, and particularly that he may not get full into the Hands of Mr. *Palmer*, tho' it is most certain he has already put in to be his Feeder, and spared nothing that Power, or Interest, or Money, or Influence of any Sort can do, to be chosen once more into this Office: If this should happen, Lord have Mercy on us! for then we may expect to see that dreadful Prediction of *Erra Pastor*'s confirm'd by *Nostradamus*, concerning the Beast of the North, take Effect.

When the third dragon's whelp'd in Albion
lond, [stond,
If ilk same monster seaven long years shall
Then Jesu dear preserve our auld Englund.

Craftsman, June 13. N° 780.

Of the late WESTMINSTER ELECTION,
with an Extract from a Speech of Sir ROBERT WALPOLE, in 1703.

Mr. D'Anvers,

IT being justly apprehended and wish'd, by all true Lovers of their Country, that some legal Method will be taken to bring the extraordinary Management of the late Westminster Election under the Consideration of proper Judges, one of the ministerial Writers thought he should clinch the Nail, by producing the Resolutions of the House of Commons, in the Year 1703, upon the great Case of *Abby and White*, concerning the *Aylesbury* Election.

Mercurii 26 Die Februarii 1703.

Resolved,

That, according to the known Law and Usage of Parliament, it is the sole Right of the Commons of England in Parliament assembled (except in Cases otherwise provided for by Act of Parliament) to examine and determine all Matters relating to the Right of Election of their own Members,

Resolved,

That, according to the known Law and Usage of Parliament, neither the Qualification of any Elector, or the Right of any Person elected, is cognizable, or determinable, elsewhere than before the Commons of England in Parliament assembled, except in such Cases as are specially provided for by Act of Parliament.

Resolved,

B That the examining and determining the Qualification or Right of any Elector, or any Person elected to serve in Parliament, in any Court of Law, or elsewhere, than before the Commons of England in Parliament assembled, (except in such Cases as are specially provided for by Act of Parliament) will expose all Mayors, Bailiffs, and other Officers, who are obliged to take the Poll, and make the Return thereupon, to Multiplicity of Actions, vexatious Suits, and insupportable Expences, and will subject them to different and independent Jurisdictions, and inconsistent Determinations in the same Cause, without Relief.

C I do not intend to trouble the Reader with my poor Opinion upon this famous Case. The Proceedings and Pleadings were very long and learned, and the Dispute was at last carry'd to so great an Height between both Houses, that her late Majesty Queen Anne found it absolutely necessary to put an End to the Session, and so this Affair dropt.

D But whether the Lords, or the Commons, were in the Right, it is inconceivable what Motives could induce any Writer in the *Gazetteer* to pick out this Case as parallel to the late Westminster Election; for the returning Officer of *Aylesbury* was certainly guilty of transgressing his Duty, whatever the High Bailiff of Westminster may be, and most of the leading Whigs of those Times counte-

E nced the Proceedings against him, in Opposition to the Resolutions of the House of Commons; particularly the late Duke of *Devonshire*, the late Earl *Cowper*, (then Members of the House of Commons) Sir *John Hawley*, Sir *Joseph Jekyll*, Sir *Peter King*, and several others; but above all Sir ROBERT WALPOLE, who made a Speech upon that Occasion, in which he told the House, "That the Matter before them came to this single Question; whether they would encourage and give a Power to an Officer, be he whom he will, to act arbitrarily, or rather chuse to do something in Favour of the Electors. I am sure, said he, if I desire to be elected by those, who had the Right, I would never give the Officer an Authority to the Prejudice of the Electors." — He then moved, that the most material Part of the Question, which concern'd the Qualification of the Electors, ought to be left out. But, upon a Division,

It was carry'd by a great Majority, that those Words should stand Part of the Question.

But tho' the Hon. Gentleman fail'd in his Motion, he had the Pleasure to see his Arguments against the Resolutions of the Commons so strenuously supported by the House of Lords, that the Queen was obliged to stop the Affair from going any farther, by putting a sudden End to the Session, as mention'd before.

I do not mention this by Way of Authority; but only as a proper Reply to the *Gazetteer's* injudicious Application of the Aylesbury Case to the late Election at Westminster; for if the two Cases bear any Resemblance to one another, and their Patron still retains the same Opinions concerning Elections and the Right of Electors, he cannot with a very good Grace oppose Actions, Writs of Error, or any other legal Processes, against an Officer, for acting arbitrarily, and to the Prejudice of the Electors. What therefore I have said is, at least, *Argumentum ad Hominem*, and is meant as no more.

I have not yet heard in what Manner the Friends of Admiral Vernon and Mr. Edwin design to proceed; for there are different Ways to be taken; and the late glorious Act, for the more effectual preventing Bribery and Corruption in the Election of Members to serve in Parliament, hath in a great Measure alter'd the Case, since the Disputes about Aylesbury Election. There are severe Penalties inflicted by that Act both on the Corruptor and the Corrupted, especially the Returning Officer, who is certainly the most criminal of them all, and ought to be prosecuted in the severest Manner, whenever he is detected in polling any Persons, who have no Right; or refusing those who have; or closing the Poll in an unjustifiable Manner, and thereby making a false Return.

In short, there are different Methods, both legal and parliamentary, of prosecuting all Offenders in these Cases. If there were not, the Freedom of Elections would soon be totally destroy'd, and even Parliaments themselves be of no long Duration; or, what is much worse, render'd entirely subservient to the Views of a voracious Minister, and a mercenary Faction of his servile Creatures.

Universal Spectator, June 13, and 20.

Story of a young GENTLEMAN, and the perfidious MELINTHA.

Mr. Stonecastle,

BLAME not some passionate Expressions, when I tell you my Story, and speak of an ungrateful, unfaithful Woman, but a Woman whom my Soul once held dear.

It is about two Years since I left Oxford, in the long Vacation, to pay a Visit to a Re-

lation in Hertfordshire, who was at the same Time my Guardian. I was then in my 20th Year, and at the End of another was to be Master of a considerable Sum of Money in the publick Funds, and a clear Estate of 800*l. per Annum*. But tho' I had been 4 Years engag'd in an academical Life, I had peculiar Opportunities of being often introduced into the Company of Men of Business, Pleasure and Consequence, both in the Court and City; therefore I was less ignorant of the World than some other Gentlemen of my Age and Fortune were: I mention this only, that I might not probably so rashly engage in an honourable Amour as young Lovers have done, who have seen no more to form a Conduct for Life, than what they have observ'd within the Walls of a University.

During my Recels at my Guardian's, I became acquainted with the Rector of the Parish, in which he liv'd; he was a fine Gentleman and a polite Scholar, which made his Visits to my Guardian more agreeable, and it was not long before they became between us very mutual and very frequent: But if these Visits seem'd agreeable to me from the Heartiness of his Behaviour and the Delicacy of his Conversation, I soon found they grew more and more so from the Behaviour and Conversation of his eldest Daughter. It was Melintha (for so I shall call her) that chang'd me from a Visitant to a Lover: Had she had but a tolerable Share of personal Charms, she had such engaging Faculties, such Excellencies in her Temper and Understanding, as would have won my Affection; what then must she do, when she had more Beauty than Words can e'er express,

Or youthful poets fancy when they love?

I came — I saw — I lov'd — — I lov'd; but with that true Distinction of Love, that my Passion was founded on Virtue; nor did ever a dishonourable Wish enter into my Bosom, On my making my Addresses to Melintha, she receiv'd them only as the Custom of Gallantry; but on my more earnest Professions, she desir'd me to desist, as she was far unequal to me in Fortune, therefore could not believe that I was what she had before thought of me, a Gentleman of Honour. I soon satisfy'd her of the Reality of my Affection by making these Terms: That I would proceed no farther in my Addresses without her Father's Approbation; and that the Day I came to Age should, if she would consent, be the Day of Marriage with her. Such a Proposal was too disinterested on my Side for her to reject, especially as she was very far from being averse to my Passion, if she could be assur'd it was honourable. On a proper Opportunity I reveal'd my Intention to my worthy Friend, Melintha's Father. The good Man seem'd surpris'd at such a Declaration and Proposal;

posal: After some Reservedness in Contemplation, he took me by the Hand and said, " Dear Sir, I have observ'd many a Time a particular Intimacy between you and my Daughter: I never took Notice of it, because I thought she had more Virtue, and you more Honour, than for either of you to exceed their Bounds. Like other Parents, I cannot but think my Child has some Accomplishments; but I must tell you, that those are all the Fortune she will have: Consider, Sir, you are a young Gentleman of Estate, coming into the World with great Advantages, and may have a Lady who still by her Fortune and Family may improve them. Your Passion may at present indeed out-weigh these Considerations; but I would have you reflect, whether your conjugal Affection to my Child will be the same when you come into Life, as if she had brought you a Fortune or Family Interest: But besides all this, I cannot grant any farther Consent of your Addresses to *Melintba* without the Approbation of your Guardian: He is my Friend and Patron, and I should be unjust and ungrateful to suffer his Child (for as such you are) to take any the least inconsiderate Measures without his Knowledge. I would have you think of what I have said, and change your Resolution." — In Answer, I told him I would get my Guardian's Approbation, which with some Difficulty I obtain'd on these Conditions; that I should not marry till I was of Age, and that till then I should keep my Terms at College; at Vacations I should be at his House, and have Leave to visit *Melintba*. When these Preliminaries were settled, the Doctor very readily and gladly approv'd of them; but at the same Time said, that as much as they were for his Honour and Interest, he would lay no Restraint on his Child; and that even now, if I could not gain her Affections, he would not put any Kind of Force on her.

From this Time I dated my Happiness: *Melintba* was assur'd of my Love, and asfurd of the Honour of it: She behav'd ten Times more agreeable, and seem'd a thousand Times more lovely: All the Tendernesses which mutual Lovers feel without their Fears, Jealousies and Anxieties, my *Melintba* and I enjoy'd: All the Vows and Protestations that no Time, no Occasion could ever divide our Love, *Melintba* and I utter'd.—But—oh! Woman, what were they Vows!——O Beauty, where is thy Fairb!——Excuse these Exclamations! They break out in Reflexion, and I cannot help it.—To proceed: Half a Year had been spent in this happy Manner, when *Melintba*'s Father died; and died in the Circumstances which the Generality of the Clergy do, who have a Family to bring up in a genteel Manner, without a private Fortune of their own: The good Man, besides the Education of his Children, kept up the Digni-

uity of his Character, and was hospitable, beneficent and humane. In short, his Family was left unprovided for, and *Melintba* must have been reduced to have gone into a more servile Scene of Life than she ever expected, if I had not happen'd to love her. As I was now near coming to the Possession of my Fortune, my Guardian left me to my own Conduct, and I not only took all honourable Care of my *Melintba*, but of her Sister and two Brothers. For these I bought Commissions in the Army; and with the other I gave a Fortune and a good Living to a Gentleman who was my Fellow Collegian at *Oxford*. The Time now drew near when I flatter'd myself my Happiness was to be compleat. My Birth-Day was approaching, and every Thing was preparing to celebrate my Nuptials: On this Occasion *Melintba* and I came to Town with some Friends, to buy some Jewels, Cloaths, &c. and, as it was Winter, we went to the publick Diversions of the Season. One Night I could not attend her to the Playhouse, but was to meet her and another Lady in the Gallery Box: When I came, the Box was too full for me to get to her, but I bow'd to her, and waited several Rows off till the Play was over. I observ'd a gay young Fellow who sat next her, had engag'd her in Conversation, and was endeavouring, by all the Arts of false Politeness, to gain her Acquaintance. When the Play was over he offer'd to hand her out; but, on my stepping up, he ask'd Pardon, and gave his Hand to the other Lady. As soon as we were in the Coach, I rallied *Melintba* on her Gallant, which she laugh'd off with a great deal of Humour; nor did I think any more of the Adventure, till two Days afterwards calling at her Lodgings, I unexpectedly met with the same young Gentleman drinking Tea with her. I was surpriz'd, but took no Notice till he was gone, then assum'd the Liberty of asking the Occasion of such an Incident. She answer'd, it was accidental, for the Gentleman had order'd the Coach to be follow'd from the Play, found out her Lodgings and Name, and introduced himself to her Company. I cou'd not help betraying some Uneasiness at this, but never spoke a Word about it. In the Evening, I accidentally saw the same Gentleman at a Coffee-house, and enquir'd who he was: The Waiter told me he was an Officer in the Army, and had a considerable Estate in ——shire.

Tho' I continu'd to shew the same Respect to Melintba as ever, I observ'd a sudden Coldness in her Behaviour: On my Enquiry into the Reason of it she said, She was surpriz'd at my jealous Temper, and if I shew'd it at her taking innocent Freedoms before Marriage, what was she to expect after it! — I reply'd, that I had not given any Instance of such a Temper, for I said nothing, tho' I could not but be surpriz'd at seeing a Strange Gentleman

in her Lodgings.—‘ Not such a Stranger,’ says she, ‘ for I have seen him several Times at the Assembly at —— : He is an Officer of Distinction and a Gentleman of Fortune, and sure I might behave with common Complaisance to him without any Offence to you.’ —— This was spoke with such a Vehemence, as seem’d more than a mere Resentment for my having ask’d the Question I did: I felt an Anxiety my Heart was ever before a Stranger to; but I still kept it to myself, and conceal’d it with as much Gaiety and good Humour I could shew. Tho’ I might not have then much Reason for my Un easiness, I had sufficient Cause the next Morning; for as I was dressing myself to go to *Melintba*, her Maid came to me: She seem’d at her coming into the Room in a great Confusion.—At last, ‘ Sir,’ says she, ‘ I was brought up in your Family, have the greatest Obligations to it, and tho’ for that Reason you placed me in my Mistress’s Service, I always look’d on you as my Master: My Duty to you obliges me to reveal what I think concerns your Interest to know.— My Mistress has not that Honour which you deserve in a Wife: The Captain you saw at our House is I find no new Acquaintance, but was long since very intimate with my Mistress when he was quarter’d at —— . As his Addresses were very far from being ill receiv’d then, so they are now; for, besides the frequent private Meetings they have had, there is a Correspondence begun, and I am intrusted with it: I am now going with a Letter to the Captain, but thought it my Duty to bring it first to you.’ —— At which she deliver’d me a Letter, the Subscription of which I too well knew to be *Melintba*’s Writing: I was for a While so confus’d that I knew not what to do; when I recover’d myself, I carefully open’d the Letter, and read the following Lines.

To Capt. ***.

Dear Billy,

YOU too well know the Weakness of my Heart not to be assur’d that I sincerely forgive all the Neglect you have shewn to me since you left —— : I have admitted all your Excuses, and the present Protestations of your Love for me have ston’d for the Falshood of your former. An Accident began our first Love, and an Accident has been the Renewal of it: I hope I am not flattering myself too much, but the Proposal you made me last Night I take to be some Instance of it. You know I was to be married in a short Time to Mr. —— , a Gentleman whom I respect, but never lov’d farther than as I had Interest in View: Love acts upon other Principles, and if you will keep your Word with me, I will break immediately with him: He

is to come to me in the Evening, but will be gone by Eight; if you will come at Nine, you will be as kindly receiv’d as ever by

MELINTBA.

No Tongue can express, no Heart can conceive the raging Storm I felt in my Breast between Love, Jealousy, Resentment, Revenge, and all the Passions of the Soul. I read the Letter over and over; but the more I read, I was the more confounded. If the Professions of a former Love to another Person might seem excusable, I could not bear the Thought that her Professions to me were founded on Interest: How then could I endure to read, *Love acts on other Principles, and if you will keep your Word with me, I will break immediately with him?* —— But the private Affection at Nine, and to be as kindly receiv’d as ever, gave me such Reflexions as shock’d my Soul. After all, I cou’d know no more by the Letter, than that *Melintba* had not that Love for me she ought: There yet remain’d a Secret necessary for me to know, viz. What was said and done in the Interview between her and the Captain. After having read the Letter to *Betty*, I told her my Thoughts on it, and ask’d, if by her Contrivance such a Thing could be practicable. On considering, she told me yes, if I would promise on my Honour not to discover myself while the Captain was there. I promis’d, and ask’d her how it could be? She told me, by her bringing me up the back Stairs, and putting me into her Mistress’s Dressing-Room, which she could easily do unknown to her. I consented, and then carefully seal’d the Letter up again, and sent the Maid with it to the Captain.

Soon after I went, according to Custom, to *Melintba*: I behav’d with all the good Nature and Complaisance I was Master of: I perceiv’d a reserv’d Coldness in her, but was determin’d to take no Notice of it; nor was any Thing said on either Side on the Words which happen’d the Night before. After a short Stay, I made an Excuse that I had Business in the City, and should not return till Evening: About Seven I came, and went at Eight; but return’d by *Betty*’s Directions at the back Door directly, and the convey’d me into her Mistress’s Dressing-Room, where I could hear every Thing that was said. At the Time appointed the Captain came, and was receiv’d in a Manner which shew’d *Melintba* was no Stranger to the Tenderness of Love: After a thousand mutual Professions of Sincerity, (just such as had often pass’d between her and me) the Conversation turn’d on what I wanted to know.—‘ Well, Sir,’ says *Melintba*, ‘ I have consider’d of your Proposal of breaking off with Mr. —— , and to be your Wife instead of his. If you are sincere, I make no Hesitation about it: I have indeed great Obligations to Mr. —— , I believe he

passion-

passionately loves me, and I have always made him think it was reciprocal: But I will never see him more if you so determine it.' The Captain promis'd to marry her, and she promis'd to break with me: With this Resolution they parted. *Melintha* was now alone, and I was determin'd to shew her that I was a Witness of her Perfidy: I burst from the Dressing-Room: The Noise alarm'd her, and turning round she saw me; I need not say how much she was surpriz'd: In the utmost Confusion she ask'd how I came there?—'Tis no Matter, Madam, reply'd I, how I came there; it is sufficient that by being there, I have had such a Proof of your base Infidelity and Ingratitude, as nothing can equal: Had I not with my own Ears heard your Treachery, I could not have believ'd it. You may be glad of this Accident; it saves you the Trouble of inventing some plausible Means to break off with me: You may have your Captain without any Molestation from me, and I wish you may find that he will act with as much Honour to you as I have done: I could reproach you, *Melintha*, bitterly reproach you; but I shall leave it to your own Conscience to sting you, when you shall repent of this Levity of your Mind: I leave you with Indignation; nor will I, if possible, ever see you more.'—She began to speak, but (as I had determin'd) I left her without hearing what she could say: The next Morning I set out for the Country, and in a few Days I heard she was marry'd to the Captain.

Tho' I am a Sufferer in so severe a Degree, I have got the better of my Passion by my Philosophy, and on Reflection think I ought to be glad I had not marry'd so perfidious a Woman: I have related this little private Story to be a publick Testimony, that Women can be as false in their Vows and Protests, and as ungenerous in their Behaviour, as the Men.

Yours, &c.

Daily Gazetteer, June 12.

IT was a fine Saying of the great Prince of *Conde*, when he read some Libels of the Age in which he lived, and wherein many Things were ascribed to him, of which he knew nothing, 'These Rascals make us act and speak as they would do if in our Places.' One can scarce imagine Things more different or more distant, than the Conduct of Persons of high Rank and the Notions which mean People entertain of their Conduct. Hence comes that Inundation of Falshood which spreads over all the Vulgar, and fills their Minds with Affection for Persons who value them no more than a Captain of *Hussars* his Troop, and with Aversion for such as applying

all their Time, all their Attention, to the Service of the People, have fewer Opportunities, and perhaps think less of courting the Multitude, than such as need them do. We need only to cast our Eyes on some licentious Pamphlets lately publish'd, in order to be convinced not only that they are excessively malicious, but scandalously false. When a Man affirms that a Person in a high Station declared to him (whom perhaps he scarce honour'd with his Notice, much less his Confidence) such Things as could serve only to render the great Person odious as well as criminal, he may expect Belief from the Mob, but never from those who are endued with common Sense; because Reason shews us the Fact cannot be true. A Lie can never gain Credit without having a Cloak of Probability.

There are few People who consider, that tho' it is not in every Man's Power to screw himself into an Intimacy with the Great, it is however in any Man's Power to talk of them as familiarly as if they were the bosom Confidants of all their Secrets. As any Poet may make free with any Hero he pleases in a Tragedy, so any political Scribbler may lay his Hands on the sublimest Character, and treat it in what Manner he thinks fit, in his Libels. So that we have no more Ground to imagine a modern Statesman truly represented by his cotemporary Historian, than to judge the *Macedonian* Monarch such a Hector as *Lee* describes his *Alexander*. These Figures are alike fantastick, and a Person must be near as far gone as the Author in his Disease, who consents to take his Dreams of one with whom he is entirely unacquainted, for a just Picture of his Qualities. If one must judge by Fancy, at least let every Man judge by his own Fancy, and not frighten himself with a Spectre of another's Imagination.

Graffman, June 20. N° 781.

A DIALOGUE between COURTY GRUB, Esq; of St. James's, and CALE D'ANVERS, Esq; upon the LATE ELECTIONS.

SCENE, Mr. D'ANVERS's Chambers.

Grub. MR. D'ANVERS, your humble Servant.—I believe you don't know me personally; tho' I have long been your Correspondent and Antagonist.—My Name is Grub.

D'Anvers. Courty Grub, Esq; I presume.—Grub. The very same, Sir, at your Service.—You may, perhaps, look upon this Liberty as impertinent, considering our late Altercations, and opposite Opinions about State Affairs.

D'Anvers. Not at all, Sir, I assure you.—Why cannot these Gentlemen talk together in a friendly

friendly Manner, tho' they may happen to disagree in their Judgments about the *Administration of Power*? for that I take to be the only true Point in Dispute between sensible Men of all Parties.

Grub. My Design was to have a little personal Conversation with you, about the *late Elections*; which I hope have at last convinced you of your Error, and that all future Opposition to the *great Man*, will be to no Purpose.

D'Anvers. I must ask your Pardon, *Sir*, as to that Point.—Pray, what may be your Reasons for supposing the *Court Party* so victorious and triumphant?

Grub. Why, Mr. *D'Anvers*, have you seen no *Lists*, or made no Computation of the Gentlemen chosen to represent the Commons of *Great Britain*, in the ensuing Parliament?

D'Anvers. Yes, *Sir*, I have already had a cursory View of several *Lists*; but it is impossible to make any exact Calculation of the Number, either on one Side or the other, till the Parliament is assembled in Form.—There are many new Members chosen, of whom we have not yet had any Experience; and how can any body answer for their Sentiments or Conduct, before they are try'd?—Besides, Mr. *Grub*, can you pretend to be ignorant that several Gentlemen, of both Parties, have alter'd their Opinions since the *last general Election*; and how can we judge of their future Behaviour?—Have not some, who were formerly Favourites, been turn'd out of *Place*?—Have not others, who were, at the same Time, treated as *Malecontents* and *Incendiaries*, been since restored to *Favour*, tho' not to their former *Places*?—In short, Mr. *Grub*, how can you make any Computation, before the *House* meets?

Grub. Why, just in the same Manner as when the *House* meets. That is, by telling of *Noses*, as it is commonly call'd, or a Majority of *Voices*.

D'Anvers. But how can you be sure of the Majority, till their *Voices* are heard, and their *Noses* told?

Grub. Not absolutely, indeed.—But you know, Mr. *D'Anvers*, that we may form a pretty good Judgment of Mankind from their general *Characters*, the *Principles* they espouse, and the *Interest*, upon which they stood Candidates.

D'Anvers. That's very true.—Let us therefore proceed upon this Supposition, and begin with the *Knights of the Shire*, or Members chosen to represent the *Counties*.

Grub. Why so, Mr. *D'Anvers*?

D'Anvers. Because it is impossible to carry on any Dispute in a fair and amicable Way, without observing some Method: and I think the *County Elections* deserve the Preference.

Grub. As for that, *Sir*, I can see no Difference; for all Members of Parliament,

quatenus Members, are upon an equal Foot, and have the same Right to give their Votes, whether they are chosen to represent 10,000, or 10 Men only.

D'Anvers. But still, *Sir*, I must insist upon it that the true Sentiments of the People are best known by those *Elections*, in which the *Voters* are most numerous, and the least liable to *Corruption*.

Grub. Ay, this is your old favorite Topic, and you are eternally harping upon it.—But what mighty Advantages, do you think, the *Country Party* have gain'd, under this Article, at the *late Elections*?

D'Anvers. It is not prudent, or decent, for me to particularize Gentlemen by Name; but, according to your Method of computing by their general *Characters*, and *avow'd Principles*, there is a greater Majority of Members for *Counties* now chosen than in the *last Parliament*; and they were reckon'd, at least, two *Thirds*.

Grub. That, perhaps, may be true; for it is well known that the People in general are too much poison'd with disaffected and seditious Notions of Government.—I need not tell you by whom.

D'Anvers. Then as to the *principal Cities*, *great Corporations*, and *populous trading Towns*, except those immediately depending on the *Court*, I believe your *Party* have not much Reason to boast of their Success.—Nay, even the *little Boroughs*—

Grub. Ay, now let us hear!—What do you think of them?

D'Anvers. Why I think, Mr. *Grub*, as I was going to say before, that even the *little Boroughs* have done much more, at the *late Elections*, than the most sanguine of us expected from them.—What do you think of the *Cornish* and *Scottish Boroughs*, which were formerly look'd upon as your chief Strength?

Grub. Why, to own the Truth fairly to you, they have run too much against us.—A Parcel of *ungrateful*, *disobedient Rogues*!—But as for the *Electors*, who have acted contrary to their *Duty*, they will be severely punish'd; and as for the *Elected*, you know there are such Things as *Petitions*.

D'Anvers. Nay, if you come to that, Mr. *Grub*, and your *Patron* should have the Power of *weeding the House*, as it is call'd, I am sure there will be no *Flowers* left in it.—But how can any Man depend upon having it in his Power to *weed the House*?

Grub. I am really surprized to hear a Man of your Age and Experience, ask such a Question.—You can't surely have the Vanity to hope that your *Mal-content Party* will be strong enough to chuse a *Speaker*.

D'Anvers. A Question, which ought not to be ask'd, ought not to be answer'd, according to a late famous *Writer*.—It does not become either you, or me, to direct the *House of Commons*, or

to anticipate their Election of a Speaker? — I have a very great Regard for the Hon. Gentleman, who hath fill'd that Chair with so much Dignity for the two last Parliaments; and if the ensuing Parliament should think proper to repose the same Confidence in him, who can have any just Reason, or Pretence, to grumble at it? — But whether he, or any other Gentleman, is advanced to that high Trust, I hope the Honour and Interest of Great Britain, and the Prosperity of the present Royal Family, will be the prevailing Motive in all future Parliaments.

Common Sense of the 20th and 27th contains the greatest Part of the first Speech on the late famous Motion, which our Readers may see at the Beginning of our MAGAZINE for May last.

The Craftsman of the 27th has an allegorical Letter from Nestor, upon the Humours and Manners of the English: After which Mr. D'Anvers says,

My Readers, perhaps, will expect that I should give them a particular Essay upon the late melancholy News from Cartagena; but all the Accounts hitherto published of it, not excepting that in the London Gazette of Saturday last, are so doubtful, imperfect, and even contradictory, that they must wait till we can speak of it with more Certainty; and as bad News always flies fast enough, they need not be very impatient. In general, it already appears too plainly that we have suffer'd a very considerable Loss; and I heartily wish it may not prove much greater, when the Particulars are more authentically explain'd.—But as I was always glad to communicate true Matter of Joy, I will never anticipate or aggravate any Occasion of Grief, and therefore shall say no more upon it, at present. (See the Account in the Gazette, &c. p. 307.)

Extract from a Letter wrote by Admiral VERNON to a Friend here, dated the 25th of April last, from on board the Prince's Carolina, riding off Castillo Grande in the Harbour of Cartagena.

FROM my last to you in the Harbour in the Beginning of this Month, I was in Hopes to have been able to have given you a better Account of our Conclusion here. I F thank God I can say, as far as depended on the Sea to do, or was practicable that Way, I carried it to the best End, having entirely destroy'd all the Shipping, and shall leave all their Forts that guarded their Harbour entirely demolish'd.

And I took Care to secure by my Ships a safe Landing for the Army, as near Cartagena as they could desire, without their having so much as a single Musket-Shot fired at them; and to land all their Artillery, and whatever they desired afterwards: And when they had stay'd as long as they cared for, I took the same Care of their Re-imbarkation, without their having a Musket-Shot fired at them, by having my Ships well posted to cover

them. And as Army Proceedings are no Part of my Province, I chuse to leave that to their own Relation. Sickness and Want of Water were the principal Reasons alledg'd for their thinking it impracticable for them to proceed further; and it is certain the Sickness is become very general amongst the Forces since their Re-imbarkation. We are preparing to return to Jamaica, with all possible Expedition that so large a Train will admit of, that will require Time to get them out of Harbour of so narrow an Entrance. As there will be a Necessity for the greatest Part of my Fleet going hence this Summer, I am in Hopes of soon receiving Orders to come home with them myself, which I should be much pleas'd with, being heartily sick of conjunct Expeditions with an Army.

Through God's great Mercy I continu'd to enjoy a good State of Health, to enable me to go through the burdensome Fatigues of this Command, which hardly allows me Time to think of any Thing else. My last publick Letters are of the 5th of December. I hope to hear you are all well upon my Return to Jamaica, and that it will please God to give us a happy Meeting this Winter.

A Gentleman on board with the Duchess of Buckingham, in her Passage from Dover to Calais, made the following Epigram extempore, upon his being ask'd by her Grace, whether he was afraid of the Sea.

D **W**HEN he, who steer'd fam'd Julius, shook with dread,
The hero spoke, and every terror fled:
Thy angel voice, O daughter of a king!
Inspires the muse, and bids her, dauntless, sing.
Smil'd on by thee, what breast can fear betray?
Proud of his charge, see Neptune smooths the way!

E **A**SONG. Blow, blow, thou Winter Wind.

GO, catch a falling star,
Tell me where past years are,
Make me hear mermaids sing:
Tell me at court what wind
Promotes an honest mind,
Or keeps off envy's sting.
If born to see strange sights,
Ride thousand days and nights,
Till age snows all thy hair:
When thou return'st thou'l vow
'Mong wonders seen, not now
Lives woman true and fair,
Find, find one, let me know,
And I will gladly go,
So sweet a pilgrimage:
Who wou'd not go to view,
A woman fair, yet true,
The wonder of her age?
Hold, hold, I will not move
One step her faith to prove,
Though at next door she be:
For though then true the were,
She will e'er I come there,
Prove false to two or three.

The EMPLOYMENT of BEAUTY.

A P O E M.

Address'd to Mrs. BRIDGET JONES, a young
Widow Lady, of Llanelly in Carmarthenshire.

By RICHARD SAVAGE, Esq;

ONCE Beauty, wishing fond desire to
move,
Contriv'd to catch the heart of wand'ring Love.
Come, purest atoms! Beauty aid implores;
For new soft texture, leave aetherial stores.
They come, they crowd, they, shining hues,
unfold; [mold!

Be theirs a form, which Beauty's self shall
To mold my charmer's form she all apply'd;
Whence Cambria boasts the birth of Nature's
pride.

She calls the Graces—such is Beauty's state,
Prompt at her call, th' obedient Graces wait.
First your fair feet they shape, and shape to
please;

Each stands design'd for dign'ty and ease.
Firm, on these curious pedestals, depend
Two polish'd pillars, which as fair ascend.
From well-wrought knees, more large, more
fair, they rise;

Seen by the Muse, tho' hid from mortal eyes.
More polish'd yet, your fabric, each sustains,
That purest temple, where perfection reigns.
A small, sweet circle forms your faultless
waist;

By Beauty shap'd, to be by Love embrac'd.
Beyond that leff'ning waist, two orbs, devise
What swelling charms, in fair proportion,
rise: [found,

Fresh-peeping there, two blushing buds are
Each like a rose, which lilies white surround:
There feeling sense, let pitying sighs inspire,
Til panting pity swell to warm desire;
Desire, tho' warm, is chaste; each warmest
kiss, [bliss.

All rapture, chaste; when Hymen bids the
Rounding and soft, two taper arms descend;
Two snow-white hands, in taper fingers end.
Lo! cunning Beauty, on each palm, designs
Love's fortune and your own, in mystic lines;
And lovely whiteness, either arm contains;
Diversify'd with azure-wand'ring veins;
The wand'ring veins conceal a gen'rous flood,
The purple treasure of celestial blood.
Rounding and white, your neck, as curious
rears,

O'er all a face, where Beauty's self appears,
Her soft attendants smooth the spotless skin,
And, smoothly oval, turn the shapely chin;
The shapely chin, to Beauty's rising face,
Shall, doubling gently, give a double grace.
And soon sweet-opening, rosy lips disclose
The well-rang'd teeth in lily-whitening rows:
Here life is breath'd, and florid life assumes
A breath, whose fragrance vies with vernal

And two fair cheeks give modesty to raise
A beauteous blush at praise, tho' just the
praise.

And Nature now, from each kind ray, supplies
Soft, clement smiles and love-inspiring eyes;
New Graces, to those eyes, mild shades allow,
Fringe their fair lids, and pencil either brow.
White sense of vision lights up orbs so rare,
May none, but pleasing objects visit there!
Two little porches (which, one sense empow-
ers

To draw rich scent from aromatic flowers,)
In structure neat, and deck'd with polish'd
grace,

Shall equal first, then heighten Beauty's face.
To smelling sense, oh, may the flow'ry year,
Its first, last, choicest incense offer here!
Transparent next, two curious crescents bound
The two-fold entrance of inspiring sound,
And, granting a new power of sense to bear,
New finer organs form each curious ear;
Form to imbibe what most the soul can move;
Music and reason, poesy and love.
Next, on an open front, is pleasing wrought
A pensive sweetness, born of patient thought,
Above your lucid shoulders, locks display'd,
Prone to descend, shall soften light with shade:
All, with a nameless air and mien, unite,
And, as you move, each movement is delight.
Tun'd is your melting tongue and equal mind,
At once, by knowledge heighten'd and refin'd.

The Virtues next to Beauty's nod incline;
For, where they lend not light, she cannot
shine.

Let these, the temp'rate sense of taste reveal,
And give, while Nature spreads the simple
meal,

The palate pure, to relish health design'd;
From luxury, as taintless as your mind.
The Virtues, chastity and truth, impart,
And mold, to sweet benevolence, your heart.

Thus Beauty finish'd—Thus she gains the
sway,

And Love still follows where she leads the way.
From ev'ry gift of heav'n, to charm is thine;
To love, to praise, and to adore, be mine.

The other Copy of Verses did not come to Hand.

On P E A C E.

BEST peace! scarce known to pomp and
king,
That virtue shad'st with downy wings,
Thou often mak'st thy happy seat
A humble cottage's retreat.
The greedy merchant hopes in vain
To find thee in his anxious gain;
And sailor, when the storm is o'er,
To buy thee with bright golden ore:
Not Indian mines cou'd purchase thee,
Were they all spent in bribery;
Of the pure mind a willing guest,
Tho' not by regal pride polisht;

Regardless

Regardless of th' applauded name,
Nor won by sweet poetic fame.
After fond thoughts and errors past,
Here will I fix my wish at last;
This only boon from heav'n implore,
Virtue and thee, I ask no more.

J. DINSDALE.

On PROBUS.

HAIL, sacred Author! whose immortal pen
Will benefit all future sons of men;
For tho' mistaken zeal and rage combine,
In fame's full blaze thou shalt eternal shine.
And tho' I differ in some points from thee,
O! may I be the same in charity;
May that unbounded love my breast inspire,
Which fills thy soul with almost seraph-fire.
And, if I err, as possibly I may,
Thus let me at the throne of mercy pray;
Do thou, great source of all-revealing light,
Disperse the danger of bold error's night,
Shine thro' my soul, and make me humble
prove,
To truth divine obedient, as to love.

A HYMN.

O LORD, when I the heavens survey,
And all the splendid frame,
I feel my ardent breast consum'd
With a devouring flame,
By thy command, the radiant sun
In glory drowns the day;
And stars, when shade invests the world,
Their gentler light display.
The spring, in sweet vicissitude,
Adorns the flow'ry fields;
And autumn gay with golden fruit,
A pleasant prospect yields.
If, then, thy lib'ral hand has pour'd
On nature so much grace,
O! with what joy the saints behold
Th' effulgence of thy face.
While by reflexion I thy charms
In nature here descry,
Longing to enter thy blest courts,
I languish, faint, and die.
My soul wou'd, disengag'd from earth,
Be ravish'd with thy sight;
But, in this Fordid clay confin'd,
The body stops its flight.
When wilt thou to thy servant, Lord?
Unveil thy beauty's blaze,
And all my faculties be lost
In extasy and praise?

EPINICION-DEBORE.
Iudicium Cap. V.

HUMANA plusquam proelia, Martis
Ducente turmas Numine, & agmina.

Disjecta non levi ruinâ
Tanaaci super arva camp's,
Magnam triumphis materiam dabunt,
Magnam canenti— Surge, potens lyra,
Debora, surge, desiderque
In numeros, age, tende chordas.
At, o! tremendum quis genio Deum
Parique dicat carmine, cum super
Montes Idumeos tonantes
Egit equos volucremque currum?
Quo breta tellus atque adamantina
Soluta mundi fabrica, quo Sina
Concussa nutavit, vagique
Desuper intremuere montes!
Heu! quanta passi funera, Shamgaro
Regnante! quantas horruimus vices,
Cum mortis armorumque terror
Attonitas tremefecit urbes!
Heu! quanta clades undique luridos
Tristavit agros! hostis ut insolens
Impunè Judreas per oras
Explicit sua victor arma!
Cum sic jacebas, patria, sic brevi
Lapsa; jam tum non sine numine
Debora surrexi, labantis
Grande decus columenque regni.
Jam tum resurgens contudit hostium
Minas feroces patria, (feminâ
Ducente victimis catervas)
Lapsa ferox reparare sceptrâ.
Ignava quæ vos otia detinent,
Cives? quis horror? quo fugis, impotens
Reubene; dum mater supremo
Terra jacet peritura fato?
Vos Napthalæi, vos Zebulonii
Heroes, ô queis laudibus efforam!
Vos prodigos vitae, cruenta
Per medias rapit ira cædes.
Cerno minaci fulgure lucidam
Pompam Gradivi, ferreæ ut ægmina
Horrent in armis, dum cœnitus
Ambiguo furor hæsitavit
In bella passu! tum Baraci manus,
Vasto phalangas diruit impetu,
Currusque ferratos, virosque
Fæmineis agitavit armis.
Ter Rex Deorum concutit ægida
Dextra rubenti: ter polus intonat
Armatus: hostes ipsa fundunt
Astra, graves jaculata flammæ.
Quantis ruinis strata cadavera
Campos tegebant, quanta fugacium
Vis hostium in ripis jacebat
Ambiguo peritura fato!
Tessu Megiddi flumen, & amnium
Princeps Kisonus, adhuc pater
Kisonus unda decolori
Scuta virûm galeasque volvens.
Jaela, multi fæmina nominis,
Dilecta cælo fæmina, Siseram

Tu splendide fallax receperisti
 Hospitio minus hospitali.
 Herba cerno sub pedibus tuis
 Lepsum, volutum; sub pedibus tuis
 Lepus, volutus, stratus heros,
 Purpureo vomit ore vitam.
 Afflita longas interrupit moras,
 Dixitque mater, 'Sisera, Sisera,
 'Ah! quæ triumphales moratur
 'Præda rotas? spoliisve currus
 'Gement enaus? quæ mihi, quæ tibi
 'Captiva virgo regia serviet?
 'Cant'va quæ vestis triumphos
 'Sidenio decorabit ostro?'
 Misella mater! quidlibet impotens
 Sperare! nequicquam! occidis, occidis
 O nate, communique mater
 Occidit intellitura fato.

VERSES occasioned by the Author's presenting a Fan to a young Lady, on which was painted the Story of Cephalus and Procris, with this Motto, *Aura Veni.* By Mr. POPE.

COME, gentle air, th' *Median Shepherd*
 S. lid,
 While Procris panted in the secret shade.
 Come, gentle air, the fairer *Delia* cries,
 While at her feet her swain expiring lies.
 Lo! the glad gales o'er all her beauties stray,
 Breathe on her lips, and in her bosom play.
 This toy in *Delia's* hand is fatal found,
 Nor could that fabled dart more surely wound.
 Both gifts destructive to the givers prove,
 Both lovers fall alike by those they love.
 Yet guiltless too this bright destroyer lives,
 At random wounds, nor knows the wound
 she gives;
 She views the story with attentive eyes,
 And pities *Procris*, while her lover dies.

TRANSLATED.

AURA veni, *Aeolides* clamavit pastor; in
 umbra
 Dum Procris trepidans interiore latet.
 Pulchior, aura veni, clamavit *Delia*; *Thyrsis*
 Dum nymphæ supplex procidit ante pedes,
Aura pererravit teneros ut virginis artus!
 Ut lasciva nimis pressit! ut osc'la dedit!
 Machini fert tantilla necem, dum *Delia* vi-
 brat,
 Nec *Procris* tetigit certius hasta scopum.
 Sunt dona exitio *Procri*—me munera perdunt:
Procri amore perit—me quoque perdit
 amor.
 Pulchra virago tamen strages coacervat inuitas,
 Vulnera dat temere, nescia quanta facit.
 Infelix oculis pictum v det illa fiabelium,
 Et *Procri* satum, me pereuante, dolet.
 Cal. Univ. Oxon.

J. D. 22, 1741.

P. R.

To the Author of SHAMELA.

ADMIR'D *Pamela*, till *Shamele* shown,
 Appear'd in ev'ry colour—but her own;
 Uncensur'd she remain'd in borrow'd light,
 No nun more chaste, few angels shone so
 bright.

But now, the idol we no more adore,
 Jervise a bawd, and our chaste nymph a w—
 Each buxom last may read poor *Booby's* case,
 And charm a *Williams* to supply his place;
 Our thoughtless sons for round-ear'd caps may
 burn,

And curse *Pamela*, when they've serv'd a turn.

VERSES written Extempore on a Pane of
 Glass in an old House, lately taken down by
 Sir E. L—tt—n, and now rebuilding.

LONG have I been an homely place,
 And in dilapidated case;
 But must a few days hence come down,
 To please the tenant, and the town:
 Then, thro' the baronet's great bounty,
 (The kindest landlord in the county)
 In sumptuous sort I'll raise my head.
 God save the King, and good Sir Ned!

Penkridge, May 14, 1741. R. D.

HORACE, Book I. Ode IV. at-
 tempted; to his Friend *Sextius*.

Solvitur acris byems, &c.

NOW gloomy winter takes the wing,
 Solv'd by the Zephyrs of the spring;
 And floating ships put out again,
 With season'd keels, to plough the main.

Colonus now delights in fields,
 Where verdant corn a pleasure yields:
 No more the fire invites the swain;
 And cattle brisk it o'er the plain.

The nymphs in dance with *Venus* join,
 When *Lana*'s silver glories shine;
 And the huge brawny *smith* above,
 Now forges bolts for angry *Jove*.

Let myrtle now your temples bind,
 In beaut'ous flow'ry garlands twin'd,
 Which, all the fragrant meads around,
 With blushes paint th' enamell'd grounds.

Let, on your sacred altars, bleed,
 The tender lamb, or fatned kid;
 And pay your grateful sacrifice,
 Due to the *Sylvan* deities.

Death's gloomy, pallid terrors wait
 Alike the vulgar and the great:
 Our worldly span's contending strife
 Forbids to wish a length of life.

You soon must quit this vital light,
 And sink to never-ending night;
 For soon or late must all resort
 To gloomy *Pluto's* fabled court:

Then must you leave the sparkling glass,
 And to the dressy mansions pass;

The

There you'll lament your darling joy,
And mourn your still-surviving boy:
Whose Cherub face, and well-turn'd frame,
Our youthful hearts with love inflame;
And soon his ripe alluring charms
Will tempt the females to his arms.

Miss BETT*. A SONG.

BLIND bards!—pray, what is the reason,
Ye never cou'd find out, as yet,
A time, Sirs, to say, in due season,
Some dainty, fine things of Miss Bett?
The charms of Miss Mogg are related,
Of rhimes in a suitable set;
But why, pray, so long have we waited
To hear of more charming Miss Bett?
Where, where are your eyes, ye dull creatures!
In your heads, they are certainly set;
Altonish'd, perhaps, at the features,
As well as bright parts of Miss Bett.
Tho' I'm but a blunt poetaster,
She can my capacity whet:
And, tho' of my subject not master,
I'll venture to write of Miss Bett.
Her assistance will make the words follow,
Without any hindrance or lett:
I care not a fig for Apollo!
My muse shall be pretty Miss Bett.
Whenever I see her or hear her,
Or tow'rs her wou'd gradually get,
How do I contrive to creep near her,
And steal my arm round dear Miss Bett!
But O! when, my fancy indulging,
Our lips close together are met,
(The thing there's no harm in divulging)
How does my heart beat for Miss Bett.
Tho' frankly I make this confession,
My Polly, I know, will not fret,
Nor think it a criminal passion;
For she much admires, too, Miss Bett.
Poll never was wont to be jealous,
Nor will she be put in a pet,
Altho' I seem wonderful zealous
In finging the charms of Miss Bett.
On a friend that so true and sincere is,
We scarce too much value can set;
And therefore to Poll none more dear is,
Than faithful, obliging Miss Bett.
Some ladies oft boasting of pence are,
And spreading their fool-catching net;
But admirers of wit and good sense are
Enamour'd with sprightly Miss Bett.
At the thoughts of their parting with money,
Some people are all in a sweat:
Not so, that delicious, dear honey!
The gen'rous, good-natur'd Miss Bett.
Your finical sops are delighted
With flutt'ring about a coquet;
But butterfly-beaus are all slighted
By solid, sagacious Miss Bett.
When coxcombs incur her displeasure,
And with frowns she begins 'em to threat,
The thunder-struck fools, beyond measure
Confounded, all fly from Miss Bett.

* The very agreeable Miss B—ty A—ms.

A courtier oft loves to be billing,
When he with his mistress is sat:
But I'll hold any man a good shilling,
None kestles more sweet than Miss Bett.
A soot that loves good old October,
Drinks brandy or rum for a whet:
But I that still love to keep sober,
Chuse to take a salute of Miss Bett.
A youngster full many a toast has,
When his whistle is pretty well wet:
But at Hampton † all run to the post-house,
Desiring to gaze at Miss Bett.
Pretending to come there for letters,
The office they fondly beset;
But, ah! soon return home in fetters,
On rashly beholding Miss Bett.
Those eyes may do great execution,
That are black as a sloe, or as jet:
But none, surely, more can, or do shine,
Than those of the sparkling Miss Bett.
Her shape, dress, and air so genteel are,
We leave her with no small regret;
And with kindness I well-nigh cou'd kill her,
Whene'er I kis'd dear Miss Bett.
My spouse, t'other day, she was took for;—
An honour so wonderful great,
I must own, that I little did look for:
Happy he!—that shall marry Miss Bett.
That warbling, sweet bird, *Philomela*,
Can't half so much wonder beget;
Nor that modest, pure virgin, *Pamela*,
More virtue cou'd boast, than Miss Bett.
But in vain I indulge my fond fancy,
And still shall remain in her debt,
Ev'n when I have said all I can say,
Of the dear, sweet, ingenious Miss Bett.
In short then,—to make a fair end on't,
Left Polly shou'd be in a pet;
My heart is hers, she may depend on't,
Altho' I've thus rym'd to Miss Bett.
But shou'd my sweet Darly forfike me,
And Poll her past vows clean forget,—
To her arms, if dear Addy will take me,
I'll love, live, and die, with Miss Bett.
June 17, 1741. *Pbilorytbus.*

RAYNER's Gardens in NORWICH.

SEE, Mahomet, this verdant shade arise,
A rival of thy fancy'd paradise.
How sweet along these varied paths to stray,
O'er turf adorn'd in all the pride of May!
Or from the margin of the silver Tare,
View the gay meads, and scent the fragrant air!
Here the grape's sparkling juice invites the taste,
Of fruits Pomona gives a cool repast.
But, prophet, say, how much these nymphs sur-
The dusky beauties of thy Arab race;
See from their brilliant eyes what lustres blaze,
Bright as the sun in his meridian rays:
Thy scheme then on a nobler model build,
The well-chose plan let Rayner's gardens yield.

Several Pieces came to late, which shall be in
our next.

THE

† Wolverhampton in Staffordshire.

THE
Monthly Chronologer.

TUESDAY, June 2.


EARLY this Morning began the hottest Press below Bridge that has been known since the Commencement of the War against Spain. They took all they could lay Hands upon, whether they had Protections or not, on board or ashore; and it was said, that in 36 Hours the Number taken and inroll'd in the Navy Books was 2370.

The Lords of the Admiralty having granted Warrants for impressing of Landmen, great Numbers in Consequence thereof were taken, and put on board the Tenders.

TUESDAY, 9.

From on board his Majesty's Ship the *Rupert*, in Plymouth Sound.—On the 17th past we took our Station for cruizing off St. Sebastian. On the 31st at 11 in the Morning we saw a Sail, which came out of the Harbour of St. Sebastian; we immediately gave her Chase, and at 4 in the Afternoon came up with her, and took her: She prov'd to be a Privateer called the *Biscaya*, belonging to St. Sebastian, mounting 10 Carriage and 2 Swivel Guns, had on board 150 Pistols, 19 Blunderbusses, 140 Muskets, 166 Cutlasses, 20 Pikes, and a great Number of Powder-Flasks, Hand-Grenades and Pole-Axes; she had but 119 Men on board, tho' by the Roll of the Ship's Company she should have had 140, so that it is presumed the rest were killed in the Action, and thrown over board: This Privateer came out of St. Sebastian at five that Morning. The Engagement was very smart on both Sides, we having been obliged to fire 31 Chace Guns with Round and Partridge-Shot, and a great Number of Small Arms at her, before she struck: Nay, after the Captain, who was a Frenchman, had struck his Colours, the two Lieutenants, who were Dutchmen, hoisted them, and continued the Fight till we obliged them to strike. The above Privateer has taken 23 Prizes since the Beginning of the War. The 119 Men we took, are a Set of rugged, able-bodied, desperate Fellows. This is the Vessel that took the Ship coming from *Carolina*, where Co. Braithwaite was shot in cold Blood after the Action was over; and if the Spaniards, who are Prisoners on board, inform us right, we have the French Officer that shot him, a Prisoner now on board. (See *London Mag.* for July 1740, p. 351.)

THURSDAY, 11.

His Majesty enter'd on the 15th Year of

his Reign, which is more than any of his 4 Predecessors arrived at,

K. James having reigned 4 Years, 7 Days,
K. William 13 Years, 23 Days,
Q. Anne 12 Years, 4 Months, 23 Days,
K. George I. 12 Years, 10 Months, 10 Days.

FRIDAY, 12.

Francis Pigot and John Johnson, condemn'd last Sessions for Robberies on the Highway, and John Lupton for Burglary, were executed at Tyburn. Richard Baker, condemn'd for a Highway Robbery also, and order'd for Execution, receiv'd the Day before a Reprieve for 3 Months.

SATURDAY, 13.

Came on the Election of 16 Peers for Scotland, to sit in the British Parliament: Many of the most eminent of the Nobility did not attend, viz. the Dukes of Hamilton, Buccleugh, Queensberry, Argyll, Montrose, the Marquises of Tweedale and Annandale, the Earls of Aberdeen, Marchmont, Stair, &c. &c. There were 35 Peers present, besides 10 Proxies, and 8 signed Lists. The Election unanimously fell on the following Noblemen, viz. The Marquis of Lothian, Earls of Crawford, Loudon, Broadalbin, Hyndford, Hopton, Morton, Sutherland, Finlaster, Dummore, Portmore, Ilia, Lauderdale, Murray, Hume, and Lord Somerville. The 4 last in the Room of the Dukes of Atholl and Buccleugh, Earl of Bute, and Lord Catcart.

TUESDAY, 16.

As Prince George, the Princess Augusta, and the other young Prince and Princess, were removing from Epsom to Cliveden, they were met on *Henliffe-Heath* by two Highwaymen, who rode up to the Coach, but being inform'd whose Children were in it, they only cried, God bless them, and went off; however, meeting soon after with the Nurses and Attendants in another Coach, they robb'd them of a considerable Booty.

WEDNESDAY, 17.

The Grand Jury of the County of Middlesex, deliver'd the following Presentment to the Court of King's-Bench at Westminster.

W the Body of the County of Middlesex, do apprehend, that among the many Enormities and Offences committed against the Publick, none deserves our Observation and Censure more than those which tend to the Subversion of the antient Rights of the People to a free Election of their Representatives in Parliament, in whom they

repose their undoubted Share in the Government, as well as constitute them Guardians of their Liberties and Properties. For we cannot but apprehend, that whenever the People shall lose the Right of Election, or which is the same Thing, the Freedom of Election, and be oblig'd to chuse their Representatives under the Awe, Dread, or Influence of any other Power, there must be an End of Parliaments, or at least the People's Interest and Share therein.

Wherefore being sworn to enquire for our Sovereign Lord the King, and the Body of this County, we upon our Oaths present, that on Friday the 8th Day of May last, while the Election for Members of Parliament for the City and Liberty of Westminster was depending, and before the Declaration thereof was made, a Body of Foot-Guards or Soldiers, to the Number of 50 and upwards, headed by Officers, did, in the Afternoon, in a military Manner march up near the Place of Polling, which Practice may be of the most dangerous Consequence to the Liberties of the People, as contrary to Law, and a Restraint on the Freedom of Elections.

We therefore being affected and alarm'd with a due Sense and Dread of so daring a Violation and Insult on our Freedom and Liberties, and the dangerous Consequence of military Power exercised in civil Affairs, do recommend it to this honourable Court, to give such Order and Direction for preventing and discouraging the like heinous Offence for the future, as they shall judge most proper and convenient.

Whitehall, June 19. Captain *Wimbleton*, Commander of his Majesty's Sloop the *Cruizer*, arrived here Yesterday in the Evening, from *Portsmouth*, having been dispatched from the Harbour of *Cartagena* the 26th of April, with Letters for his Grace the Duke of *Newcastle* his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, from Vice-Admiral *Verney*, and from Brigadier General *Wentworth*, giving the following Account.

On the 1st of April in the Evening, the Sailors, by the Admiral's Direction, made a Channel thro' the Enemies sunk Wrecks, by which the Bomb-Ketches were got in, and two Frigates to cover them, commanded by Capt. *Rentone* and Capt. *Roderick*, and by 10 next Morning (the 2d) the Bomb-Ketches began to play upon the Town. The same Evening another Channel was made thro' the Wrecks, to the Eastward of the Shoal that lay in the Mouth of the Harbour; three of the Fireships got thro' that Channel, and were posted to cover the Descent of the Land Forces at *Texar de Gracias*; and they kept firing upon the Enemy wherever they saw them endeavouring to intrench themselves. On the 3d the *Weymouth*, Capt. *Knowles*, got thro' the Western Channel, and the next

Night passed round the Shoal to the Eastern Part of the Harbour. The *Cruizer* got in at the other Channel the 4th in the Evening; and the Admiral posted them so round the Eastern Parts of the Harbour, that their Fire scoured the Country all round, and drove about an Hundred of the Enemy from a Breast-work at the upper End of the Harbour; and the *Weymouth*'s Guns scoured the Country between that and St. *Lazar*, by which Means we procured a secure Descent to the Land Forces, who began to land on the 5th by Break of Day.

General *Wentworth* with about 1500 Men, advanced thro' a long narrow Defilé, where he had some few Men hurt by single Shot from the Paths and Openings into the Wood. In coming out of the Defilé, the Enemy (about 600) were perceived to be advantageously posted to dispute the Passage: But the General immediately advanced upon them, received their Fire without much Loss, and forced them to retire with Precipitation, and without Delay possessed himself of a convenient Piece of Ground for forming the Camp, a small Mile from the Castle of St. *Lazar*. That Evening and the Day following (the 6th) the Remainder of the eight Regiments, and of *Bland's* and Lord *James Cavendish's*, and two Battallions of the *Americans* came on Shore, making in the Whole about 4000 Men; but they were obliged to lie three Nights upon their Arms for the Want of Tents and Tools, which could not be landed with them. The Troops growing sickly, and the rainy Season approaching, which would not admit of the Time necessary for raising a Cannon Battery, it was resolved, in a Council of War, to attack St. *Lazar* as soon as might be, the Enemy being daily throwing up new Works; which Attack could not be made before the 9th; when, about 1200 Men under the Command of Brigadier-General *Guise* advanced to the Fort a little before Break of Day. They began the Attack in two Places, the Grenadiers who were the most advanced, immediately entred the Enemy's Works; but the most forward of them were almost all kill'd; and fresh Numbers pouring upon them from the Town, and the Enemy playing very briskly upon them with Grape Shot, the General was obliged to order a Retreat, to cover which, he directed a Reserve of 500 Men to advance; by which Means they retired without any farther Loss, and carried off great Part of the wounded Men. In this Attack upwards of 600 Men (Officers included) were kill'd or wounded. At the same Time, Sickness fell so heavily upon the Troops, that near 500 Men sickned or died by the 15th; amongst the former were almost all the principal Officers: Upon which the General called a Council of War, to whom it appeared, that

the Troops were so far from being in a Condition to offend the Enemy, that they had scarcely Duty-men sufficient for the ordinary Guards of the Camp, and many of them in a very languishing Condition: Besides which, they were threatened with the Want of Water, all the Cisterns from which the Camp had been supplied, being near exhausted; in Consequence of which, it was resolved in a General Council of War, composed of Sea and Land-Officers, to re-imbarke the Troops, which was done the 16th in the Evening, without any Loss.

The Spanish Admiral-Ship the *Galicia* was got up to *Castillo Grande* on the 8th, and the Admiral sent 60 Carpenters on board her, to fit her for a Battery against the Town. On the 15th at Night she was compleated and posted as near the Walls of the Town as possible, Anchors having been drop'd for that Purpose in as Shoal-water as the Boats cou'd float them; but the Shoalings from the Town ran too far off, for any effectual Service. She kept firing upon the Town from Five in the Morning till near Twelve at Noon, and stod the Fire of three Bastions, a Half Moon, and a Ravelin, during that whole Time; but as the Admiral saw she could do no material Service against Stone Walls at that Distance, he sent Orders to Capt. *Hore* (who commanded her) to cut and drive before the Sea Breeze, Broadside to the Enemy, as soon as the Breeze was strong enough, which was not till near Twelve, when they kept driving Broadside, and continued their Fire till they drove ashore on the Shoal, where she soon fill'd with Water, having 22 Shot between Wind and Water, and would soon have founder'd at her Anchors if the Admiral had not order'd her off. Our Shells from the Bomb-Ketches damag'd many of the Houses, and some of the Churches. The Houses were also pretty much shatter'd by the Cannonading from the *Galicia*, tho' she was not near enough to batter the Walls, and therefore shot over them into the Town.

The Sea-Officers and Sailors have been employed in getting out the Masts from some of the sunk Spanish Ships, in which they succeeded so as to have supplied with good low Masts, all those Ships that had them shatter'd and rendered unserviceable in the Cannonading of *Bocachica* Castle; and they got Anchors and some Cables out of those Wrecks, to repair the Loss of many in the Road where we had lain without the Harbour; so that by these seasonable Helps, the Fleet will have been pretty well repaired, and the Ships in good secure Condition for proceeding to Sea again. General Councils of War were held the 23d and 24th, the Resolutions of which were for returning to *Jamaica*.

Under the Direction of Capt. *Knovles*, the entire Demolition of *Castillo Grande* was completed the 25th, which took up the more

Time, from the great Thickness of the Walls and Strength of the Cement; but it is effectually demolished at last, and the 59. Pieces of Ordnance in it render'd unserviceable by spiking them up and by knocking off the Trunnions. Capt. *Boscawen* has the Care of the same Work at *Bocachica*, and proceeds in it very successfully.

The Harbour having so narrow an Entrance, it was thought that it would take up some Time to get all the Ships out and put to Sea.

Upon the Whole of this Expedition, six Spanish Men of War have been burnt or destroyed, with six Galleons and all the other Shipping that were in the Harbour of Cartagena; all the Forts and strong Castles for the Security of that Harbour entirely demolished, and several hundred Guns, as well in the Forts as in the Men of War, destroy'd or render'd unserviceable. (See p. 253, &c.)

There are several Letters handed about, containing Lists of the Officers and Soldiers that suffer'd in the Expedition at Cartagena, which differ in some Respects from each other; we think the following Account as near the Truth as any; and therefore present it to our Readers, viz. Officers kill'd in the Attack, Col. *Grant*, Lieut. Col. *Thompson*, Captains, *Robinson*, *Adair*, *Berkett*: First Lieutenants, *Huges*, *Prideaux*, *Medlicott*: Second Lieutenant *Smith*: Died, Col. *Moreton*, Lieut. Col. *Blaggrave*, Major *Dawson*: Captains, *Whitelock*, *Dennett*, *Sbarpley*, *Johnston*, *Noyer*, *Ingoldsby*, *Corbett*, *Harris*, *Baldwin*, *Ouchterlony*, *Kynaston*: First Lieutenants, *Gregson*, *Walker*, *Morris*, *Whitewell*, *Jones*, *Jennison*, *Brodie*, *Majoribank*: Second Lieutenants, *Catb*, *cart*, *Catb*, *cart*: Dr. *Martin*, first Physician.

It is said that there were kill'd, and died by Sicknes, of the private Men, near 1500; that there re-imbarke'd upwards of 5000 Men, of which there were 1451 sick, and 267 wounded.

SUNDAY, 21.

Sir *John Norris* arriv'd at Spithead, and hoisted his Flag on board the *Victory*.

WEDNESDAY, 24.

At a Court of Husting held at *Guildhall*, Mr. Alderman *Willimot*, and *Francis Musters*, Esq; were unanimously elected Sheriffs of *London* and *Middlesex*, for the ensuing Year.

Came on in the Court of *Common Pleas*, a Cause wherein the Widow of an Apothecary near *Berwick-street*, *Soho*, was Plaintiff, and a Master *Peruke*-maker (who lately had near 20,000*l.* left him by a Relation) Defendant, on an Action brought against him for a Promise of Marriage, and afterwards marrying another Woman: When a Verdict was given for the Plaintiff, with 2000*l.* Damage.

THURSDAY, 25.

The Parliament met at *Westminster*, and by

by Virtue of a Writ under the Great Seal, sign'd by the Lords of the Regency, were prorogued to Thursday, August 6.

Came on the Hearing of the Dispute about an Alderman of Broad-street Ward; but Points of Law arising, it was put off to next Term.

Another Presentment by the Grand Jury of Middlesex.

Middle **W**E the Grand Jury of the County of Middlesex, sworn to enquire for our Sovereign Lord the King, and the Body of this County, have, with Concern, observ'd of late, unusual Swarms of sturdy and clamorous Beggars, as well as many frightful Objects, expos'd in the Streets, which is an Evil in itself very grievous, and productive of many others; and notwithstanding a very strong Presentment to the same Effect was made by a former Grand Jury in the Year 1728 to this honourable Court, yet we find the Evil rather increasing upon us than in the least remedied; and as we have effectual Laws in being, to prevent begging in the Streets, we cannot but apprehend that this Nuisance, at once so burdensome and disgraceful, must be entirely owing to a Neglect of the proper Officers, in not putting those Laws in Execution.

Therefore, we hope this honourable Court will take so manifest and great a Grievance into their serious Consideration, and will apply without Delay, the proper Remedies, that we may not be thus troubled with the Poor, at the same Time that we are every Day more and more loaded with Taxes to provide for them; that his Majesty's Subjects may have the Passage of the Streets, as in former happy Times, free and undisturb'd; and be able to transact that little Business, wh'ch the Decay of Trade has reduced us to, without Molestation.

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

THOMAS Foster, Esq; to Miss Hilden, Daughter and Heiress to the late John Hilden, Esq; of St. Christopher's.

James Hallet, Esq; of Great Ormond-Street, to Miss Pearce.

Fitz-Williams Barrington, Esq; Brother to Sir John Barrington, Bart. to Miss Mead, only Daughter and Heiress of the late Captain Thomas Mead, an 18,000*l.* Fortune.

Goflin, of Hanwell, in Middlesex, Esq; to Mrs. Pitt, a Widow Lady of 1000*l.* per Ann. Fortune.

Weaver Abley, Esq; to a Daughter of the Rev. Dr. Baron.

Dr. Cox of Richmond, to Miss Clarke.

Right Hon. John Wallop, Lord Vis^c. Lyngton, to Mrs. Grey.

John Lawson, jun. of Barton in Bedfordshire, Esq; to Miss Theodosia Whetstone.

William Gage, Esq; an eminent Portugal Merchant, to Mrs. Ellis, a 15,000*l.* Fortune.

Right Hon. the Lord Vis^c. Duplin, to Miss Arnley, a Fortune of 3000*l.* per Ann.

Mr. Bladen, a Cheshire Gentleman, to Mrs. Wheatley, of Ormskirk, a 10,000*l.* Fortune.

The Rt. Hon. the Lord Raymond, to the Hon. Miss Blundell, youngest Daughter of the Lord Vis^c. Blundell.

The Lady of the Lord Nassau Pawlett brought to Bed of a Daughter.

The Lady of Mr. Alderman Heare also deliver'd of a Daughter.

DEATHS.

Mr. Daniel Mac Eune, Merchant, well known to the polite World for his choice Collections of Curiosities.—**M**r. John Pigot, Purveyor of Wax to his Majesty.—

Capt. William Yerbury, a considerable Black-well-Hall Factor.—**H**on. Mr. Chetwynd, eldest Son of the Rt. Hon. the Lord Vis^c. Chetwynd.

—**B**rigadier Paget, Deputy-Governor of Minorca, and Colonel of a Regiment of Foot.

—**T**he Worshipful Henry Trafford, Esq; Mayor of Liverpool, and a Merchant in great Business.—**R**t. Hon. John Lord Bellingden, Baron of Broughton in Scotland.—**S**ir William Delves, Bart. in the 12th Year of his Age, Son of the late Sir Darcy Delves, and Grandson to the late Archbishop of York.

—**R**t. Hon. George Douglas, Lord Mordington, a Peer of Scotland. His Lady died a few Days after.—**R**t. Hon. Edward Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, and Baron Harley of Wigmore. His Lordship married the Lady Henrietta Cavendish Holles, only Daughter and Heir of William Duke of Newcastle, by whom he had Issue (now living) one Daughter, the Lady Margaret, married to his Grace the Duke of Portland. He is succeeded in Titles by Edward Harley, Esq; now Earl of Oxford, &c. The Patent of Creation of the late Robert Earl of Oxford, being granted to him, and the Issue Male of his Body, with Remainder, for Want of Issue Male, to the Heirs Male of Sir Robert Harley, Knight of the Bath, his Grandfather; which Edward, now Earl of Oxford, is the Son and Heir of Edward Harley, Esq; late Auditor of the Imprest, and Great Grandson of the foremention'd Sir Robert Harley, Knight of the Bath.—**M**r. Alderman Vickers, who had been twice elected Mayor of Oxford.—**J**ames Marriot, of Spelmonden in Kent, and of Wandsworth in Surrey, Esq;—**M**r. Edward Symon, an eminent Bookseller in Cornhill.—**S**amuel French, Esq; one of the Directors of the Bank.—**M**r. Woodward, Boo-seller in Paternoster-Row.—**T**he Rev. Mr. Boraston, one of the Senior Fellows of University-College in Oxford, and Rector of Addington in Kent.—**N**orton Powlet, Esq; one of the Candidates at the late Election for Petersfield in Hampshire.

—Rev. Mr. Thomas Brown, B. D. formerly Fellow of St. John's-College in Cambridge, in the 86th Year of his Age.—Elizabeth Lady Crisp, R.lict of Sir John Crisp, Bart. and afterwards married to John Elliot of Islington, Esq.—Mrs. Catherine Coomber, only surviving Daughter of the late Sir John Coomber, formerly Chief Justice of Chester.—Rev. Mr. John Clarke, Prebendary of Sarum, only Son of the Rev. Dean of Sarum.—Right Hon. Charles Stuart, Earl of Traquair in Scotland.—Hon. Lieut. General Edmund Fielding, Colonel of a Regiment of Invalids; he serv'd in the late Wars against France with much Bravery and Reputation.

Ecclesiastical PREFERMENTS.
Dr. Francis Asscough had a Dispensation to hold the Rectory of Berkhamstead in Hertfordshire, together with the Rectory of Geddington in Oxfordshire.—William Penwarme, M. A. had a Dispensation to hold the Vicarage of St. Veep, together with the Rectory of Tregashaw, both in Cornwall.—Abraham Oakes, L. L. D. had a Dispensation to hold the Rectory of Wethersfield, together with the Rectory of Long-Melford, both in Suffolk.—Mr. Thomas Lucas presented to the Vicarage of Kynelworth in Warwickshire.—Mr. Blaiffon, M. A. to the Living of Meon in Surrey.—Mr. James Lawaure, to the Rectory of Bereshanger, near Sandwich in Kent.—Mr. Richardson, to the Living of St. Clement's in Cambridge.—Mr. Stephens, Rector of the new Church in the Strand, to the Living of Penshurst in Kent, vacant by the Death of Dr. Lindsay.—Mr. Fifie, to the Rectory of Wenden Ambo in Essex.

PROMOTIONS Civil and Military.
Roger Talbot, Esq; made one of the Commissioners of the Taxes and Duties on Houses.—The Hon. Joseph Yorke, Esq; second Son to the Lord Chancellor, made an Ensign in the first Reg. of Foot Guards.—Capt. William Henry Fleming appointed Captain of the Greenwich Man of War, a third Rate of 50 Guns.—Lieut. William Bladewell to be Commander of the *Swift* Sloop.—Capt. Mead, to be Captain of the *Duke*, a second Rate, in the Room of Commodore Browne, appointed Captain and Commodore of the *Sandwich*, of 90 Guns.—Capt. Cockburn, Commander of the *Drake* Sloop, made Captain of the *Gibraltar* Man of War, of 20 Guns.—Rev. Mr. Leath chosen Poetry Professor in the University of Oxford.—William Adam, Esq; made one of the Commissioners for granting Wine Licences.—Sir Thomas Fairfax, made chief Porter of the Tower of London, in the Room of Jocelin Sidney, Esq; now Earl of Leicester.—Mr. Alderman Willmett, unanimously chosen President of Bridewell Hospital.—Wadham Wyndham, Esq; Son

in-Law to the Bishop of Durham, made Secretary to the Stamp-Office, in the Room of William Bridges, Esq; deceas'd.—Capt. Noel made Colonel of the Company in the second Regiment of Foot Guards, lately commanded by Col. Hanmer, who is promoted to a Regiment.—Lieut. Levett made Commander of the *Otter* Sloop.

Persons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

John Afley, the Younger, of Tiverton, Linen-draiper.—Robert Jackson of Little Britain, Dealer.—John Tottingham, of Aldersgate street, Innholder.—Annefley Heathfield, late of Fisb-street-Hill, Oilman.—Peter Duoyer, of St. Clement's Danes, Bookseller.—George Gilberd, of Exon, Merchant.—Edward Lutton, of Glamford Brigg in Lincolnshire, Victualler.—Benjamin Dunckley, of Wg-Smithfield, Linen-draiper.—John Gray, of Warminster, Inn-holder and Vintner.—Henry Whitaker, late of the Parish of St. Mary-le-bon, Brick-maker.—Thomas Parrott, of Chick-Lane, Mealman and Baker.—Joseph Beale, late of Bristol, Iron-monger.—John Dunning, late of Plymouth, Grocer.—Giles Bird, of Hounslow, Inn-holder.—James Akin, of Stow in Gloucester, Shop-keeper.—John Tratt, now or late of Clare-market, Mefactor, and Corn-chandler.—James and Thomas Newnham, of London, Ironmongers and Partners.

Abstract of the London WEEKLY BILL, from May 26. to June 23.

Christned	5 Males	613	2	1136
	2 Females	523	5	
Buried	5 Males	1020	2	2025
	2 Females	1005	5	
Died under 2 Years old				552
Between 2 and 5				147
5		10		91
10		20		84
20		30		218
30		40		244
40		50		258
50		60		175
60		70		122
70		80		80
80		90		43
90 and upwards				11
				2025

Hay 69 to 72s. a Load.

A DISPUTE has lately arisen between the King of Denmark and the States General, about the Right of fishing upon the Coasts of *Greenland* and *Iceland*, which this Nation is more concerned in than some People seem to imagine. As the King of Denmark is in the actual Possession of the Island of *Iceland*, and pretends to a Right to *Greenland*, he says the *Dutch* have no Right, nor ought to fish in those Seas without his Leave; and on the contrary, the *Dutch* say they have a Right, and may fish in those Seas, both by the Law of Nations, and by Treaties between the *Danes* and them. In this Dispute, our Minister at *Copenhagen* has interposed; and it is said, has joined with the *French* Minister there in backing the Remonstrances of Mr. *Cayment*, the *Dutch* Resident at that Court; but it is to be hoped, that our Minister will in this Affair take Care not to allow himself to be drawn in by the *French* and *Dutch* Ministers, to do any Thing that may invalidate our Dominion over the *British* Seas, and our exclusive Right to the Fishery in those Seas, which has been expressly acknowledged by the *Dutch*, and tacitly by all *European* Nations.

After the Surrender of *Brieg* to the *Prussian*, as mentioned in our last, their Army continued in the Camp at *Molowitz*, till the 14th of last Month, O. S. when the Baggage, with Part of the Army, marched to a new Camp that had been marked out at *Großau*, within a League of *Neiss*, and next Day were followed by the King and the rest of the Army. From this March a second Battle was expected; but as Count *Neuperg*, with the *Austrian* Army, continued in their Camp on the other Side of the River *Neiss*, and as they had so fortified themselves in that Camp, that it was dangerous to attack them, the *Prussian*, after staying a few Days at *Großau*, returned to their Camp at *Molowitz*, and from thence to a Camp near the Village of *Hermsdorf*, after having made a general Forage in all the Villages on that Side the River, in order to deprive the Enemy of all Manner of Subsistence.

As the Coronation of the Queen of *Hungary* draws nigh, the States of that Kingdom, assembled at *Pressburg*, have made several Demands, amongst which are, *1st*, That the Civil Government shall no longer be subordinate to the Military. *2d*. That the Queen shall conclude no Treaty with the Turks without the Advice of the States. *3d*, That none but Natives shall be promoted to the Honours and Offices of the Kingdom. *4th*, That all Provisions of the Growth of *Hungary* shall be allowed to be transported into *Austria* and *Stiria*, without paying any extraordinary Duty. *5th*, That the Benefices of the *Roman Catholick* Clergy may not be conferred upon Foreigners; and that the Con-

stitutions established in Favour of Protestants may be fully executed and maintained. To all which Demands her Majesty has given a most gracious Answer, and seems inclined to gain, as much as possible, the Affections of her *Hungarian* Subjects in general.

It is said, that the Duke of *Bavaria* has made the following Proposition to her *Hungarian* Majesty, That she should resign to him *Tirol* and all its Dependencies, together with certain Principalities and Lordships belonging to the House of *Austria* in *Swabia*. That she should use her Interest with the States of the Empire, to acknowledge and establish the Exercise of the double Vicariate of the *Rhine*; and that if the Suffrages of the Electors should unite to give the Imperial Dignity to the Infant Arch-Duke of *Austria*, the Exercise thereof should be vested, during his Minority, in the three Vicars of the Empire, *viz.* the *Saxon*, *Bavarian* and *Palatine* Electors. And that upon these Conditions he would renounce all his Pretensions, and give his Vote for electing the Arch-Duke, Emperor. To all which her Majesty gave a favourable Answer, except as to the County of *Tirol*, the Surrender of which being incompatible with the *Pragmatick Sanction*, she could not therefore comply with it, or enter into any Negotiation on that Head.

Our Letters by the last *Dutch* Mail intimate, that the States General are negotiating a new Treaty of Neutrality with the *French*, with respect to the *Austrian* *Netherlands*, upon the Footing of that which was concluded in the Year 1733; and our last Letters from *Paris* say, that 27 Battalions, and 15 Squadrons of *French* Troops will soon march from *Alsace* to the Electorate of *Bavaria*, under the Command of the *Marquis de Maillebois*. Besides this, all Advices from *France* agree, that they are making vast Preparations for War, both by Sea and Land, throughout that Kingdom; but it is to be hoped, neither the Supineness of the *Dutch*, nor the Preparations of the *French*, will frighten us into a dis honourable Peace with *Spain*, nor into a *French* Model for settling the present Confusions in *Germany*; for if our Ministers can but conquer the usual Obstinacy of the Court of *Vienna*, we may easily form such a Confederacy in *Europe*, as will bid Defiance to *France* and all the Allies she can procure.

The new *Bey* of *Tunis* having insisted that the *French* Consul should bend his Knee to him, when he congratulated him on his Victory over the dethroned *Bey*, the Court of *France* immediately ordered their Consul to retire to *Tripoli*; and the *Bey* looking upon this as a Forerunner of a Declaration of War, he ordered five or six *French* Ships then in the Harbour to be seized, and his Gallies have already begun to cruise upon, and take the *French* Ships in the *Mediterranean*.

HISTORICAL.

* 1. THE History of the Life of *Marcus Tullius Cicero*. By *C. Middleton*, D. D. The 2d Edition. In 3 Vols. 8vo. Printed for *W. Innys* and *R. Manby*, price 15s.

2. The British Empire in America. Containing the History of the Discovery, Settlement, Progress and State of the British Colonies on the Continent and Islands of America. The 2d Edition. Printed for *J. Brotterton*, *J. Clarke* in Cornhill, *J. Clarke* in Duck Lane, *A. Ward*, *J. Saunders*, *G. Hueb*, *T. Osborne*, *E. Wicksteed*, *C. Batbush*, and *T. Harris*, pr. 12s.

3. The History of the English Stage. Printed for *E. Curr*, 8vo. pr. 5s.

LAW, POLITICAL.

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MISCELLANEOUS.

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